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M.A.

Political Science

FIRST YEAR

Paper-I

MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

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M.A., FIRST YEAR

PAPER -1

MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY
PALKALAI NAGAR, MADURAI – 625 021.

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I. M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE (NON – SEMESTER)
MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

Dear Student,

We have devised a most useful and interesting "Modern Political Theory for the First year of your M.A., Course in Political Science. We have followed strictly, the prescribed text Books *in writing* the lesson in this subject. This lesson in prepared based on SIM pattern and it consisted of 10 units. It you take pains to practice answering the questions at the end of each lesson it will be useful to you later on when you take the examination.

Department of Political Science

ANBA 1 TO 1000

I. M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE (NON – SEMESTER) SYLLLABUS

Paper I
Modern Political Theory

Unit : 1	**Basic Concepts in Political Theory Constitution – Meaning and Classification**
Unit : 2	**The Evolution of the State : Sovereignty.**
Unit : 3	**Rights and Duties : Equallity**
Unit : 4	**Law : Behaviouralism**
Unit : 5	**Political Culture : Political Socialization**
Unit : 6	**General System Theory : David Easton's Input and Output analysis**
Unit : 7	**Structural – Functional Analysis : Power Theory Authority - Influence**
Unit : 8	**Group Theory : Political Elites**
Unit : 9	**Political Communication Theory : Game Theory**
Unit : 10	**Political Development : Political Development and Modernization**

SELECT REFERENCES

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2. N.P. Barry, Introduction to Modern Political theory, London, Macmilan, 1955.
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SCHEME OF LESSONS

Unit : 1 Basic concept in Political Theory Scope of Political science – approaches to the study of Political Science – Constitution, Meaning and Classification, Aristotle's Classification, Modern Classification, Forms of Government

Unit : 2 The Evolution of the state, Meaning and definition of the State, Elements of the State, Origin of the State – Sovereignty – Characteristics of Sovereignty, Kinds of Sovereignty, Limitation of Sovereignty.

Unit : 3 Rights and Duties, Definition and nature of Rights, Characteristics of Rights, Theories of Rights , Forms of Rights, Fundamental Rights, - Duties, Duties of the Citizen in Modern democracies – Equality – Meaning of Equality, Development of the concept of Equality, Dimension of Equality, Difficulties in achieving equality, Difficulties in achieving equality, Relationship between equality and Liberty.

Unit : 4 Law, Evolution of Law, Meaning and definition of Law, Essentials of Law, Sources of Law, Kinds of Law, Law and morality Law and justice – Behavioualism, Origin and background, growth of Behaviouralism, achievements of Behaviouralism in political science, post behaviouralism

Unit : 5 Political culture, Culture and Political Culture, Dimension of Political Culture Political object of political culture. Almond and Verba's view about Typology of Political Culture – Socialization, Types of Political Socialization, Elements of Political Socialization, Agents of Political Socialization, Significance of Political Socialization

Unit : 6 General system theory – Origin and growth, system theory and general system theory, Test of a system, advantages of general system theory, limitation of the theory – David Easton's input and output analysis, criticism, Significance.

Unit : 7 Structural – Functionall analysis, Talcott parsons contribution, Structural – Functional analysis in politics; Input functions, output functions – Power, Authority, and Influence characteristics of Power, Sources of Power kinds of Power, Theories of Power – Authority, Authority and influence – Influence, Manifest and explicit influence, implicit or potential influence. Differences in political influences. Forms of political influence, Means of influence.

Unit : 8 Group theory, Group approach, Group as a mass of activity, concept of interest, Group approach, Government and Group conflict Criticism – Theory of Political Elites Pareto about Political Elites, Mosca about Political Elities, Gasset about Political Elites.

Unit : 9 Political Communication theory – Meaning and nature of political Communication, Karl W. Deutsch and communication theory, - Game theory, Evolution of Game theory, Characteristics of game theory, Types of game theory, Application of Game theory, Criticism.

Unit : 10 Political Development, Meaning of Political Development, Characteristics of Political Development, Political Development - Problems and crises, Theories of Political Development, Lucian Pye and Political Development, Apter and Political Development, Huntington and Political Development, Modernization, Dimension of Modernization, indicators or modernization, Modernization and social change, Models of Moderinzation, Hindrance to Modernization.

UNIT – 1
BASIC CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL THEORY: CONSTITUTION – MEANING AND CLASSIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

Political science is one of the social sciences. It deals with the state and government. Man is a social and Political animal. The gregarious nature in man was the main reason for the formation of society. In societies there were problems. The Government has to regulate problems, with the formation of government. Politics was born. Ancient Greeks conducted the earliest study of the subject Political Science in a systematic manner. Greek thinker Aristotle was the father of political science conducted scientific study the subject 2300 years ago. Hence Political science is an important branch study.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the student

a) To know the Meaning, Definition and Scope of Political Science
b) To analyse the different approaches to the study of Political Science
c) To understand the Meaning and Definition of constitution.
d) To learn utility of the Constitution
e) To analyse Aristotle's classification of constitution.
f) To know modern classification of Constitution.
g) To study, the Forms of Government

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1. Meaning, Scope of Political Science

1.2. Approaches to the study of Political science

1.2.1. Philosophical Approach

1.2.2. Historical approach

1.2.3. Comparative approach

1.2.4. Experiment approach

1.2.5. Behavioural approach

1.2.6. Integrated method

1.3. Meaning and Definitions of *constitution*.

1.3.1. Utility of the Study of the constitution.

1.3.2. Aristotle's Classification of *Constitution*

1.3.3. Modern Classification of Constitution

1.4. Forms of governments

1.4.1. Features of the Presidential Systems

1.4.2. Unitary and Federal State

1.4.3. Federal State

1.5. Summary

1.6. Key words

1.7. Answer for CYP questions.

1.8. Book for further regarding

1.9. Questions and exercises

1.1. SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Meaning & Definitions

The word "Politics" came from the Greek word, "Polis", it stood for the city state. In the ancient Greek world each city was a state.

Scholars have defined Political science in different ways.

According to Garner "Political science" begins and ends wit state. Stephen Leacock simply says that political science deals with the Government Seely think that political science deals with the government. Then there are scholars, who think that political science deals with both the state and the Government. According to Caitlin political science is the study of human and social control. Lass well regards political Science as the study of influence and Power. The above definitions represent different views on political science.

By the scope we mean the subject matter of *political science*. It denotes the area of the study. Political Science is a study of state, state consists of men. Men are always changing. Hence the scope of political science has also been expanding in the course of the time. The *scope* marks the subject matter of political science. The subjects are :

a) Political Theory

i) Political theory

ii) History of Political ideas

b) Political institution

i) Constitution

ii) National Government

iii) Regional and Local Government

iv) Administration

v) Comparative Political institution

c) Political parties, groups and Public opinion

i) Political parties

ii) Group and Associations

ii) Citizen Participation

d) International Relations

i) International Politics

ii) International Law

iii) International Organisation & Administration

- **Political theory** is the most important branch of political science. It deals with the critical study of the origin, evolution, nature, purpose, functions, organization etc of the state.

- **History of Political ideas:** Political theory also includes the history of political ideas. Plato, Aristotle, Kantilya, Machiarchi, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegal, Mark Lenin, Gandhi are some great Political thinkers of the world. The study of their political idea is important for students of political science.

Political Institution:

(a) Constitution is referred to as "The fundamental law of the land" "Rule of the State" Instrument of Government and corner stone of a nation – state" Instrument of Government and corner stone of a nation – state" The study of the constitution of different countries of the world is an important function of political science.

(b) **National Government**: In modern times government or administration of a country has three distinct levels - national, regional and local. The national government administers the affairs that concern the entire nation, such as defence and foreign affairs.

(c) **Regional and Local Government**: These days the functions of the Government are many. It is not possible for the national Government to exercise them efficiently especially in large countries. Hence for administrative convenience the state is divided into regions or provinces. These regions have their own government which administers the affairs of regional importance.

Besides, districts, cities, villages also have their administrative institution, these are usually referred to regional Local government or Local self – Government their study is also important.

Comparative Political Institution

The political institution of every country have some special features. Their independent study is valuable. But these days political scientists are insisting comparative study of the political institution of different countries comparative study gives a better insight into the nature of political institution.

Political parties, groups citizen participation in Government and Administration and public opinion.

(a) Political parties – In every state especially in democratic states, political parties plays a significant role in the conduct of government. Hence the study of political parties is important for understanding the nature and working of the political institutions of a country.

(b) Groups and Associations – Besides political parties there are in every state orginised groups or associations. They are influencing directly or indirectly the politics and administration for the protection of their special group or class interest. The study of these group is also important.

(c) Citizen participation in Government and Administration in relation to their interest, in political affairs, and their opportunities, influence the decisions of their government. The study of these and similar problems also an essential part of political science.

d) Public opinion – Public opinion is the mind of the public. It is the opinion which the people in general hold on questions of common interest at a certain time. This is also an essential part of the subject matter of political science.

International Relations

(a) International Politics – The study of international politics has been one of the long - standing concerns of political scientists. Science and technology have converted the world into a big village. No state howsoever powerful, can live in isolation. The polices and activities of one state effect those of all others directly or indirectly.

(b) International: Law international law is another important sub discipline of political science. This law governs the relations between states.

(c) International Organisation: International relations today are deeply influenced by international organizations. They reflect a developed stage of international relations. These days the united nations organization and the specialized agencies play a very useful role in promoting harmony among states and integrating their functional and welfare activities. The study of these and similar organization is an important of political science.

Further extension of the scope of political science.

After world war II the scope of political science has immensely extended. many new items have been added to the list of subjects of political science political behaviour, political modernization political development, political socialization, political culture, and comparative politics are some of the new subjects.

Political science and politics

Often the two terms, political science and politics, are used in the same manner. It is not one and the same. The accepted sense in which the term politics is used today is different from that of political science. Politics is used to describe the political activities of the people. The term polities " Now-a-days refers to the current problems of government, when we speak of a man as interested in politics, we mean that he is interested in the current problems of the day. Politics also deals with the activities of political parties and pressure interest groups. In this sense politics is more of an art than a science,

Secondly, the politics of one country differs from that of another country, whereas Political science is the same everywhere. For example, the politics of India is not the same as that of England, America and China. Political science is concerned with the origin, nature, purpose and organization of the state. Its growth

and forms etc. It is therefore, wrong to use the two terms, politics and political science, in the same sense.

Political Philosophy

Philosophy is the search for wisdom or knowledge. It denotes the collection of general principles or laws of a filed of knowledge, security etc. political philosophy is the collection of political principles or laws. It deals with fundamental questions of values. This is also an important area of the study of political science.

1.2. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Generally the approaches to the study of political science are two they are

1. Traditional approach
2. Modern approaches

Traditional approach further includes

a- Philosophical approach

b- Historical approach

c- Comparative approach and

d- Institutional approach

Then the modern approach includes.

a – Experimental approach

b- Behavioural approach

c – Integrated approach each method has its own merits and demerits.

1.2.1. PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

This is the oldest method of political science. It was used more extensively. Plato, Kant, Hegel, Rousseau Green, all great thinkers were used this method. The philosophical method is also known as speculative or deductive method. In this method the writers try to answer the question what the state ought to be.

Merits: Philosophical approach has certain merits. It has values. It sets certain ideal ends of the state. Values are said to be essential in political science. Therefore this method is appreciated and advocated.

Demerits: In philosophical method the philosopher does not apply reason. He does not bother to prove what he says - In philosophical method value cannot be analysed scientifically. Philosophy is abstract. The Philosopher makes generalization based on his assumptions. It cannot be easily understood. In this age of science philosophical method is unsuitable.

1.2.2. HISTORICAL APPROACH:

Aristotle was the first to apply the historical method in the study of politics. Historical approach is inductive. It helps to study the origin and development of the state from a historical point of view. Political institutions are not created all f a sudden. They have their roots in the ancient past. A knowledge of the past is essential for a researches. It helps him to know the state from its foundations. Scholars like Seeley, Freeman, and Laski gave importance to this method. This method helps to understand the past, to asses the present and to assume the future.

Merits : A study of political institution with reference to the past is very essential to the students of political science. It is fundamental to understand why and how certain political institutions have developed. This method finds answers to these questions. The ancient political institutions of Greece and Rome still stand as interesting areas of study to students of political science.

Demerits: History is a record of the past. It says what happened in the past. But it fouls to guide what is to be done in future. It is also pointed out that this method is not suitable to a quickly changing society.

1.2.3. COMPARATIVE APPROACH

This approach was first used by Aristotle. He made a comparison of about 158 constitutions. Comparative politics was grown as a separate branch of political science. In this method comparison of different political institutions of different nation is made and also, it is very useful.

Merits

In comparative approach a researcher could deal with many political institutions. He could analyse the causes for the success of a particular type of institutions in one state and find out the reasons for the failure of a similar

institution in another state. By this method the demerits in historical approach are eliminated.

Demerits

There are certain demerits in this method. Political institutions are shaped by certain economic, social and political factors in a society. An isolated comparative study may mislead a researcher. He is to be very careful in selecting facts for comparison. Superficial resemblances may affect the study.

1.2.4. EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

It is believered by many scholars that experiments can be conducted in political science too. To them the whole world is laboratory for political scientists. Every law passed in the legislature is a matter of experiment. Whenever a new policy is introduced, that is an experiment. The researcher has to study the reaction and find out the causes for the success or failure of that policy.

Merits

Modern political scientists have evolved new tools of experimental study. This method would help researcher to study the subjects scientifically. It is possible to assess the effectiveness of certain political institutions.

Demerits

Political Science is a social science. The possibilities of experimentation are very limited. Experiments in a democracy may even result in the downfall of political leaders. The People cannot be kept constant under certain conditions. Hence, it is difficult to conduct experiments effectively in political science.

1.2.5. BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

This is a method of current importance. Gained it importance after the second world War. some American Political scientists gave importance to this method. This study insists the study of political behaviour of man. The political behaviour of man is exposed through his motives, feelings, beliefs, action, attitudes etc. Charles E. Merriam and Harlod D.Lasswell were some of the chief exponents of this method.

Merits

This is a radical method of study. In this study valuable data are collected. The problems like leadership. Voting pattern, role of political parties and pressure groups political attitudes, and such other things are given adequate attention. In the modern era of democracy this method is very suitale to study problems connected with the masses.

Demerits

It is not easy to study the political behaviour of man. Because the term Political behaviour is a vague one. This method has to be followed at the cost of other methods. It is incorrect on the part of a political scientist to do so. Hence they are indifferent to moral values.

1.2.6. INTEGRATED METHOD

There are other methods like statistical method, Biological method, and psychological method. Since political science is a wide subject, needs several methods. People in different states have different goals and character. They are always changing. The changes differ from country to country, society to society and time to time. For which may approaches are to be used to study them. This idea of applying all approaches at the give time is called integrated method. It is belived that a good political theory must have both philosophical and scientific basis.

CONSTITUTION – MEANING AND CLASSIFICATION

Every country of the world has a constitution. A constitution, like a machine, is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of men who control it and operate it. It is fundamentally a body of rules and regulations or a collection of principles. These rules are there to fix the structure of the supreme government. The Constitution reflects the will of the people and determines powers and responsibilities of the state. In the broader sense, a constitution is the fundamental body of rules governing the affairs of an organized group. Thus a parliament, a church, a social club or a trade union may operate under the terms of a formal written document called the constitution.

Check Your Progress Questions
1. Write about the meaning and scope of political science
2. What are the different approaches to the study of political science
3. Mentioned about philosophical approach
4. Explain Historical approac

1.3. MEANING AND DEFINITION OF CONSTITUTION

The term constitution is derived from Latin "Constituere" which means" to establish" A constitution is something established as the basis of Government, either by constitutional convention or by process of evolution. Most constitutions have been established by a constitutional convention. Only the British constitution established by process of evolution.

There are a number of definitions of "Constitution" as there are a number of constitutions.

Dwight Woolsey, it is a "Collection of principles according to which the powers of the government and the rights of the governed are determined and the relation between the two adjusted.

Albert Venn Dicey's definition of the constitution is "All rules which directly or indirectly affect the distribution or the exercise of sovereign power in the state.

Herman Finer's concept of the constitution is precise: A system of fundamental political institution".

According to Munro, constitution is the accepted basis of political action.

Get tell rightly observes: The fundamental principles that determine the form of a state are called constitution.

Thus the constitution which is referred to as "The fundamental law of the Land" Rule of the state; Instrument of government and Corner stone of a nation – state. It may be a single document and it may be also some rules and conventions. Modern Governments are governments of law but not of individuals. As there can't be a man without his head intact, similarly a state can't exist in the absence of a constitution. A state, however, rich or poor, small or big must possess a constitution. The above account tells us that a constitution should possess the following attribute.

I. It should lay down the powers of the government and the different organs of the government like the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

II. In a federation the constitution distributes the powers between the federal authority and the units.

III. The constitution also deals with the rights and duties of the citizen.

1.3.1. UTILITY OF THE STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION

The purpose of a constitution is to ensure an orderly form of government, guarantee the fundamental rights of the governed, demarcate the sphere of action of the executive, power, prescribes the rights of the governed and adjusts the relation between the two. Moreover, a study of a constitution tells us the important things about the quality of political behaviour. It points out the active sources of political powers. Hence it is impossible to imagine whether a state is well ordered one or not, in the absence of a constitution.

1.3.2. ARISTOTLE'S CLASSIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION

The traditional classification of the forms of government was made by Aristotle. His classification was based on two principles. viz.,

1. The number of persons who wield supreme power, and
2. The ends for which the ruler or rulers stand for.

According to the first principle. If supreme power is wielded by one it is a monarchy, if by a few it is a aristocracy, and if by many, it is a democracy. Based on the second principle, Aristotle goes to distinguish between normal or good forms of government and perverted or bad forms of government. The end of a normal form of government will always contribute to the good of the community as a whole if the ends get perverted or bad the ruler or rulers will carry on the Government according to their own – whims and fancies without any corresponding benefits to the people at large. Accordingly to Aristotle Governments are normal when they aim at the good of the people and promote their welfare and happiness, when they aim at selfish ends they are perverted. He is of the view that, Monarchy, Aristocracy and polity stand for normal forms of government. Tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy are the corresponding perverted forms of government.

This can be represented in a tabular statement.

No.of Persons exercising supreme Power	Normal form of Government	Perverted
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

1.3.3. MODERN CLASSIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION

The moderners do not accept Aristotle's classification. Constitution may be classified on several bases.

a. Written and un-written

For the sake of brevity and convenience, constitutions are classified into written and unwritten. Rigid and flexible. A Constitution is said to be written when the fundamental principles of organization of government, the powers of the various agencies and the rights of the citizens are written down in one document or a few documents. e.g. The U.S.A., France and India.

A written constitution is the work of either a constituent assembly or a Legislative body. The constitution of the U.S.A. was the first written constitution in the world. As a matter of fact, written constitutions, generally speaking are of recent growth. The first systematic attempt at written constitution in modern times can be found in the American colonies and on the continent in France. Thereafter other nations of the world followed it.

On the other hand an unwritten constitution is one in which the fundamental principles of governmental organization are not written in nature; it is not comprised of one or few documents, unwritten constitution is mainly based on customs and conventions. It is a combination of customs, usages, judicial decisions and Parliamentary enactments. It faithfully portrays the evolutionary or Darwinian conception. It is the child of wisdom and chance, a growth rather than the result of a day. It is the fruit of wise delay. Constitutions grow instead of being made. British constitution is the best example of unwritten constitution in the world.

b. Rigid and Flexible Constitution

Constitution can be classified on the basis of the method of their amendment into rigid and flexible. If the constitution can be amended in the same way as an ordinary bill is passed, it is flexible. On the other hand, if a special procedure is adopted for constitutional amendments other than the ordinary law – making process, it is rigid. This form of classification has some value. It is based upon a real and valid distinction.

A rigid constitution is hard and fixed. It is one which cannot be changed by the ordinary legislative acting in the ordinary manner. It can be amended only by a special body or a special process. The rigid constitution places the constitutional law above the ordinary law. The constitutional law is supreme and absolute. It is the statutory law in disagreement with the constitutional law, it is ultravires or unconstitutional. It is the judiciary which is entrusted with the duty of declaring a law constitutional or unconstitutional. and it is made the watch-dog of the constitution. All rigid constitutions are invariably written, but all written constitution are not necessarily rigid. Almost all written constitution of the modern world are rigid. The typical example of the rigid constitution is the constitution of the U.S.A.

c. Flexible Constitution

A constitution is said to be flexible when the procedure for its amendment is like that of an ordinary law. So there is no distinction made between the constitutional law and ordinary law with regard to the procedure of amendment of the same. Under a flexible constitution the legislature is the sovereign, and there is nobody to question the unconstitutionality or illegality of any law made by the legislature. The classic example of flexible constitution is that of England. The Parliament of England can do anything and everything, except making a man into woman.

1.4. FORMS OF GOVERNMENTS

Parliamentary and Presidential

In a democracy, the Government may be either Parliamentary or Presidential depending on the relation between the executive and the legislature. If

the executive of cabinet is drawn from the legislature and when the two departments work in unison to maintain harmony, such a form of government is known as cabinet or Parliamentary form. When the two department rendered independents of one another but at the same time provisions is made for points contact between the two by the one checking the other so as to maintain the balance, such a form of government is known as presidential. The best example of a Parliamentary type of government is provided by Britain and India for Presidential, the U.S.A. "Mother of Parliament" is a title often given to the British Parliament.

1. Features of the Parliamentary System

Existence of nominal and real Executive – Every cabinet system of government will have a nominal executive and real executive. The nominal executive is only the ceremonial head of the state like that of the Queen in England or the President of India.

2. Real Executive is drawn from Parliament

The cabinet members are real party men drawn from the legislature. A cabinet members should necessarily belong to one or the other house of the legislature.

3. Close Correspondence between the real executive and legislative.

4. Political Homogeneity

The Principle that members of the cabinet must come from the same party or at least share the same political views is essential to maintain unity in counsel and action.

5. Collective responsibility to the Parliament

The Cabinet is collectively responsible to the parliament for every policy and action and it continues in office as long as it commands the confidence of the House. It if loses the confidence of the House, the House can compel the cabinet to resign.

Subordinate Position to the Cabinet : As the cabinet is a drawn from the legislature; it is only natural that the executive should remain subordinate to the legislature.

Party Government: Parliamentary democracy has come to stay as rule by parties.

The Successful working of a Parliamentary type of Government depends upon a stable majority behind the cabinet in the legislature.

1.4.1. FEATURES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

- Head of the state is real executive.
- Executive head elected by the people.
- Fixed executive
- Executive cannot be a member of Legislature.
- Independent status of the executive and Legislature.
- Subordinate position of the Ministers.
- Separation of Powers.

UNITARY AND FEDERAL

1.4.2. UNITARY STATE

Constitution can be classified into unitary and federal on the basis of the nature of the exercise of the sovereign power by the State. According to C.F. strong. "A' Unitary state is one organized under a single central government J.W. Garner defines unitary government as "that form in which the supreme governing authority of a state is concentrated in a single organ or set of organs. Britain, France, Belgium, Hollard, Japan and Italy are unitary states.

Check Your progress questions:
5. Mention the meaning of constitution
6. Explain Utility of constitution
7. Write a note on Aristotle classification of Constitution.
8. Describe modern classification of constitution.
5. Write about the forms of government
6. Explain the Features of the presidential system
7. Describe the unitary and federal state
8. Mention essential elements of Federation

Essential features of a unitary State.

"Two essential qualities" says C.F.Strong, of a Unitary State may be said to be

1. The Supremacy of the Central Parliament, and
2. The absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

The Supremacy of the Central Parliament is the most important feature of the unitary system.

1.4.3. FEDERAL STATE

In the words of Dicey, a federal State "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights". In other words, in a federal government there is a distribution of powers between the central or federal government and the component units variously described as states, cantons, provinces or republics.

Meaning of the term Federation

The term "federation" is derived from the Latin word foedus which means treaty or agreement.

The following conditions should be present, if a federation is to be formed.

- Desire for union
- Desire for union and not unity
- Homogeneity
- Able Leadership
- Sound political sense
- Geographical Contiguity
- Equality of status for the states
- Adequate economic resources.
-

Essential elements of Federation

1. A written constitution
2. A supreme Court
3. A Rigid constitution
4. A second chamber

1.5. SUMMARY

This unit dealt with meaning and scope of Political science more over it provides details to study the different the approaches to the study of Political science elaborately and also it provides a detailed account about the meaning and definition of constitution it deals with utility of constitution. Also you are able to study Aristotle's classification and modern Classification of constitution. This unit also dealt with forms of government in detail.

1.6. KEY WORDS

a) Politics	-	Polis, Greek word
b) Scope	-	are of the subject
c) Cornerstone-	-	important aspects
d) Insight	-	Deep
e) Political behaviour	-	Political activity of the people
f) Convention	-	a form of conduct or behaviour or practice for a long time
g)Attributes	-	Characteristic or elements
h)Utility	-	Usefulness .
i) Oligarchy	-	A government in which supreme power's held by a privileged for

1.7. ANSWER OF CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Reference Section No: 1.1
For Question No.2	Reference Section No: 1.2
For Question No.3	Reference Section No: 1.2.1.
For Question No.4	Reference Section No: 1.2.2.
For Question No: 5	Reference section No: 1.3.
For Question No: 6	Reference section No: 1.3.1
For Question No: 7	Reference section No: 1.3.2
For Question No: 8	Reference section No: 1.3.3
For Question No: 9	Reference section No: 1.4
For Question No: 10	Reference section No: 1.4.1
For Question No: 11..	Reference section No: 1.4.2
For Question No: 12	Reference section No: 14.3

1.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Sir E. Barker, Principles of Social and Political Theory, Calcutta, Oxford University Press 1976.
2. R. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, Englewood cliffs NJ, Prentice Hall, 1963.
3. D. Easton, The Political System: An inquiry into the State of Political Science, Newyork

1.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES.

1. Analyse the Meaning and scope of Political Science
2. What are the various approaches to the study of political science
3. Examine the various classification of constitution.
4. Bring out the different forms of government in detail

UNIT – 2

THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE : SOVEREIGNTY

INTRODUCTION

The story of the evolution of the state is one of long process. It is very difficult to say how the state originated, as there are no written proofs, and this threw the problems of the origin of the state to speculation and as a result several theories were put forward. Sovereignty is the most essential attribute of the state. It is which distinguishes if from other association. No other association or organization has this element.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the student

a) To understand the meaning and definition of state.

b) To study the elements of state.

c) To analyse the various theories for origin of the State.

d) To understand, the meaning and definition of sovereignty.

e) To study the characteristics of sovereignty

f) To learn the kinds of sovereignty

g) To know the concept of Austin theory of sovereignty.

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1. Meaning and definition of state.

2.2. The elements of the state

2.3. The origin of the state, divine theory

2.31. The Force theory

2.3.2. The social contract theory Hobbes

2.3.3. The social contract theory – Jonh Locke

2.34. The Social contract theory – Rousseau

2.3.5. Roussean's concept of General Will

2.4. Meaning and Definition Sovereignty.

1.4.1. Characteristics of Sovereignty.

1.4.2. Kinds of sovereignty

1.4.3. John Austin thereof sovereignty.

1.4.4. Limitation of Sovereignty.

2.5. Summary

2.6. Key words

2.7. Answer for CYP questions

2.8. Book for further reading

2.9. Questions and Exercises.

2.1. MEANING AND DEFINITION OF STATE

Man is a social animal and cannot live in isolation. He forms a number of organizations for the fulfillment of his various needs and the state is one of such organizations. Aristotle emphasizes that no ordinary human being can live without the state.

The Greek thinker Aristotle defines State as " a Union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self – sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life.

Philimore, the English lawyer says that the state is "a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws habits and customs into one body politic.

According to Woodrow Wilson "The state is the politically organized people of the definite territory".

2.2. THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF STATE

The state has four essential elements: 1) Population, 2) Territory, 3) Government and 4) sovereignty. In addition international recognition is also desirable:

1) **Population:** The state being a human institution population is essential for it. There can be no state without human beings. But no definite figure can be fixed regarding the size of the population. Population, however, should not be too small. For instance, one family or a hundred people cannot make a state

2) **Territory:** Frontiers is necessary. The word territory covers the surface of the land within well defined boundaries. Like population, territory is also quite essential people need territory to live and organize themselves politically. Territory is necessary for citizenship and for making clear the frontiers of the jurisdiction of a particular state. As in the case of Population, in the case of the size of the state too, no definite standard as such can be fixed. The optimum size of territory can be determined only with reference to the population, the resources and several other factors.

3) **Government:** Agency of state Government is the organizational element of state. The state requires an agency or instrument through which it can express itself and enforce its will. This instrument or machinery is called government. Without Government, it will not be possible for the state to carryout its wishes and realize the objectives for which it is formed. Maintaining law and order, punishing the law breakers, protecting the law, promoting the general welfare of the people are the duties assigned to government. Government, as the agent of state, is assuming more and more importance in modern times. Its responsibilities have increased, and it has to take positive steps for the creation and distribution of wealth.

4) **Sovereignty:** Supreme power to order and punish. Sovereignty, which may be effectively expressed either by one person or a group of persons, is the most important attribute of state. This is the supreme power to regulate, control, coerce and punish all individuals or groups of individuals within the territorial limits of the state. Sovereignty which puts the state above all the other association.

2.3. THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Divine Theory

This is the oldest theory of the origin of the state. It was believed by the Egyptians the Babylonians, the Indians, the Jews and the peoples of mediral Europe.

According to the old Testament-God is the real source of the powers of the state. The jews believed that god appointed the king, deposed him, and even killed

bad rulers. The king of the Jews was, therefore, looked upon as the agent of God and was regarded as responsible to him.

It is related in the Mahabharata that when the world was in a state of anarchy, the people approached god and requested him to deliver them from that state. God appointed Manu to rule over them.

The Christian fathers believed that in the beginning when man was innocent there was no necessity of the State. But when man lost his original innocence, the use f coercive force become necessary to keep him in restraint and to punish him for sins. Hence God created the state. The state is thus, a divine remedy for the wickedness of man.

Divine Right of Kings

The theory of divine creation leads to theory of divine right of kings. Not only is the state a divine institution, it is also ruled by the king who acts as the agent and representative of God. This aspect of the theory was fully developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The leaders of the Reformation Movement used this theory to support and justify the institution of absolute monarchy. The Stuart kings of England and their supporters justified absolute monarchy on the basis of the theory of divine origin.

2.3.1. THE FORCE THEORY

According to this theory the state came into existence as a result of the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. The theory is based on the psychological premise that man is aggressive by nature, he carries on a constant struggle for power, and he who proves to be stronger subjugates the weak. This natural aggressive instinct of man gave rise to the institution of the state. Therefore, force is the basis of the state. In modern times Jean Badin , D. Hume, Oppenheimer and Jenks have supported this theory.

2.3.2. THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY HOBBES

The most famous exponents of the social contract theory were Hobbes, Locke, and Roussequ. Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) was an Englishman. H propounded his ideas in the Leviathan which was published in 1651. John Locke (1632 – 1704) was also an Englishman. He published his two Treaties of

government in 1690. Rousseau (1712-78) developed his social contract theory in his book. Social contract which was published in 1762.

Substance of the Theory

The substance of the social contract theory is: The state was created by men and means of contract. There was time when there was no state and no man – made law. Men lived in the state of nature and regulated their conduct on the basis of the laws prescribed by nature. But there was no human agency to formulate and enforce the laws of nature. As men were confronted by some difficulties in the state of nature, they after some time, decided to abandon it. They entered into an agreement and created the state. Hence the state was created by men by means of a contract.

Social contract theory of Hobbes

Human Nature: Hobbes begins with an analysis of human nature. According to him man is selfish by nature. Sociability, love, sympathy, kindness, the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice do not constitute the essential elements of his nature. His conduct is essentially determined by his desire to obtain pleasure and avoid pain. Secondly, man is moved to action not by intellect or reason, but by appetites and passions. The instinct of self-preservation being the dominant element in his nature, man is constantly engaged in a restless pursuit of the means of continued existence. As the means of society are precarious, no moderation of desire can place a limit to the struggle for existence. The struggle for existence is inseparable from desire for power.

The State of Nature

Hobbes presents a very gloomy picture of the state of nature in which men lived before the creation of the state. They were "in that condition which is called war, and such a war, as is of every man, against every man". It was not a war in the organized sense, but a perpetual struggle of all against all. Such a condition was inconsistent with any kind of civilization, there was no industry, navigation, cultivation, of the soil, building, art or letters, and the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Equally there was neither right nor wrong, justice nor injustice, since the rule of life was" only that to be everyman's that he can get and for so long, as he can keep it.

The Contract

Hobbes recognizes that even in the states of nature there were some laws of nature which made it possible for men to form a state.

The first principle was" that every man ought to endeavour for peace as far as he has hope of obtaining it.

The Second principle is that. "he must contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow another men against himself.

The third law was that men must fulfil the covenants they make.

The only way to peace was for men to give up so much of their right as was inconsistent with living in peace. A supreme coercive authority was created. Every man said to the other.

I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man or this assembly of man (Government) on this condition that thou give up thy right to him and authorize all his actions in link manner".

There were two main features of this contract. First, the holder of the supreme power could be an individual or a group. Secondly, the individual or the group to whom the authority was entrusted was not a party to the contract. Infact, he was the result of the contract.

The State: According to Hobbes the main features of the state that was formed as the result of the contract were as follows:

i) The government was sovereign and the sovereigns power was absolute. The reasons for this were.

ii) Men had surrender all their rights to the sovereign.

iii) The subjects had no right to revoke the contract.

iv) The sovereign embodied in himself the wills of all, his actions, therefore, were their actions on the principle that whosoever acts through his agent, acts through himself.

1. Sovereignty, according to Hobbes was inalienable and indivisible The sovereign was unpunishable.

2. The sovereign was the exclusive source of law. His command was law. He along had the right to make and revoke laws. But he himself was above law.

3. The subject had no rights against the sovereign. Their liberty consisted in those rights which the sovereign had permitted. However, the obligation of the subjects to the sovereign lasted only so long as he was capable of protecting them.

Thus Hobbes based an absolute state on contract and consent.

2.3.3. SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY - JOHN LOCKE

Human Nature

Locke's view of human nature is different from that of Hobbes. He does not agree with the latter that man is essentially selfish. He believes that man is social by nature, and is naturally motivated to live in the company of his fellow beings. He is peace – loving, and the feeling to respect the rights of others is natural to him.

State of Nature

In the state of nature men were free and equal; each lived according to his own liking. But this freedom was not a licence. Locke held that the state of nature was one of "peace, good will, mutual assistance and preservation". The law of nature provided a complete equipment of human rights and duties. The defect of the state of nature lay merely in the fact that it had no organization, such as magistrates, written law and fixed penalties, to give effect to the rules of right.

The contract

Locke also believes that the state was created through the medium of a contract. According to Locke, there was no common superior to enforce the laws of nature. Each individual was obliged to interpret and enforce these laws for the protection of his natural rights. According to the contract each individual agreed with every other to give up to the community his natural right of enforcing the laws of nature in order that life, liberty and property might be preserved.

This Contract had three important features.

First, Power was given to the community and not a government.

Secondly, the contract was not general, but limited and specific for the natural right of enforcing the laws of nature alone was surrendered.

Thirdly, the individual did not surrender his natural rights of life, liberty and property.

The State

According to Locke the supreme power was vested in the community. The community created the government. In the Government legislative power was supreme, but it was not arbitrary. It had to be exercised for the good of the community. It was the duty of the state to dispense justice by standing laws and authorized judges. No man could be deprived of his property without his consent, nor could taxes be levied without the consent of the people or their representative. Finally, the legislative could not transfer its powers to any other person or body. However, the people could remove or alter the legislature, when they found that if had acted contrary to the trust reposed in it. Thus the government, according to Locke, might be dissolved while society remained intact. It is to be noted that Locke had two contracts in mind, one by which the civil society was formed and the other by which the government was set up.

2.3.4. SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY - ROUSSEAU

HUMAN NATURE

According to Rousseau, Human nature is made up of two essential elements.

1) The instinct of self – Preservation and
2) Sympathy for others.

Over and above self – interest men have an innate revulsion against suffering in others. Except to the perverted man suffering any where is painful. In this sense men are naturally good. Rousseau did not believe that man is a rational animal by nature. The common basis of sociability is not reason but feeling. Natural man was an animal whose behaviour was instinctive. "A thinking man", says Rousseau' is a depraved animal. The natural man was neither moral nor vicious. He was not unhappy but neither was he happy.

The State of Nature

According to Rousseau, the state of nature was period of idyllic happiness, men being free and equal natural man was an animal whose behaviour was purely instinctive. He wholly lacked language and without language any general idea is

impossible. He had not property, for property resulted from ideas, foreseen wants, knowledge, industry which were not intrinsically natural but implied language, thought and society

But, this condition did not last long. Soon, with the introduction of private property and growth of population quarrels arose, man's life became miserable and he was compelled to give up his natural freedom.

The Contract

In the contract of Rousseau as pointed out above every one surrendered to the community all his rights. The community therefore, became sovereign. Its sovereign was as absolute as that of the government in Hobbes contract. After the contract the individual remained as free as he was before. In short, "says Rousseau, "each giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody, and there is not one associate over whom we do not acquire the same rights, which we concede to him over others, we gain the equivalent of all that we lose, the more power to preserve what we have.

Sovereignty, according to Rousseau resides in the general will of the community. The community is like a person, it has a collective moral personality. its will is the general will.

1.3.5 ROUSSEAU'S CONCEPT OF GENERAL WILL

Check your Progress questions

1. Mention Meaning and definition of State
2. What are the important elements of the sate.
3. Explain Divine origin theory of state
4. Write a note on Force theory
5. Describe the social contract theory of Hobbes

Rousseau's concept of General will is his most distinctive contribution to political philosophy. Rousseau's starting point is that the community that comes into existence as the result of the original contract is like a person; it has collective moral personality. The will of that person is the general Will. Its special attribute is that it "tends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole" its another attribute is that it is moral. It may make mistakes, but it cannot be immoral.

Roussean says that a citizen's will which wills the best interests of the state is his best will. It is more real than his will which will his private interest". The most general will – that is the will for the good of the state – says Rousseau, "is always the most just also. A citizen's will for the good of the state is morally superior to any other will, private or associational, which may from time to time determine his conduct. So far the general will, as he has defined it has been the attribute of individual citizens – of all citizens willing their best wills for the

general good. The general will therefore is the "Group mind", as well as being the compound of the best wills of all citizens willing the best interests of the state. It follows from all this that general will must be sovereign. As long as General will is sovereign, it does not matter if the government is a democracy, an aristocracy or a monarchy.

SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is the most essential attribute of the state. It is which distinguishes if from other association. No other association or organization has this element. In fact we cannot conceive of a state without sovereignty. As Laski has put if the state issues orders to all men and all associations within that area. It receives orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitation of any kind. What it proposes is right by mere announcement of intention. In short sovereignty impels the unlimited legal power of the state.

2.4. MEANING

The term "sovereignty" has been drawn from the Latin word "Superanus" which means paramount or supreme power. Therefore it refers to the supreme power of the state. In every state there is an unlimited authority against whose decision there cannot be any appeal.

Definition: A verity of definitions of sovereignty have been offered by different scholars.

According to Jean Bodin "Sovereignty" is the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law.

Hugo Grotius defined sovereignty as the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be overridden.

"Digit says that "sovereignty" is the commanding power of the state. It is the will of the nation organized in the territory of the state.

1.4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVEREIGNTY

The characteristics of sovereignty are absoluteness, universality, inalienability, permance and indivisibility..

a) **Absoluteness** the first Characteristic of sovereignty is absoluteness. It means that the sovereignty is supreme and unlimited. In the state there is no other power higher than the sovereignty to command over. Sovereignty is the storehouse of all laws and rights. There is no authority internal or external to poach on the power of the Sovereign.

b) University is the second important characteristic. The sovereign has full jurisdiction over every person every thing within the state. With such sweeping control there cannot be any social disorder.

c) **Inalienability:-** It means that sovereignty cannot be transferred. Sovereignty cannot more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or man can transfer his life and personality without self destruction. The alienation of sovereignty from the state is as suicidal as the transfer of heart from the body of a man.

d) **Permance:-** So long as the state will remain in existence its sovereignty will continue because sovereignty is a permanent tract of the state. The king may dia, the government may be replaced but the state will continue and with the continuance of the state will continue the sovereignty.

e) **Indivisibility** – Sovereignty cannot be divided into so many parts. In a state there can be only one sovereign. If the sovereignty is divided it means more than one state exists. Being the highest power in the state, it cannot be divided

2.4.2. KINDS OF SOVEREIGNTY

When we speak of the kinds of sovereignty we simply means that, it has got many aspects. Most important aspects of sovereignty are as follows.

a. Internal and External Sovereignty

The internal aspect of sovereignty was highlighted by Bodin in his writings. He emphasized that within the territorial limits of a state, the sovereign is supreme. It enjoys complete authority over all other institutions and associations existing in the state. The state can regulate the activities of these associations and issue them necessary instruction.

The external aspect of sovereignty was emphasized by Hugo Grotius. It implies that the state is free to conduct its external relations as it likes without any interference from any outside power of authority. The state can determine its relations with other countries and conclude necessary civil or military agreements with them. It is free to declare war or conclude peace with other countries.

b. Titular and Real sovereignty

The titular sovereign is a person who is the symbol of the state's authority and exercises the sovereign power in name only. It can be a hereditary monarch or an elected president. In theory such a head enjoys very extensive powers but in reality these powers are exercised by other officials or agencies on behalf of the titular sovereign. Thus the Queen of England and the President of India are the titular sovereigns in the two countries. On the other hard the real sovereign refers to a person or body of persons who actually exercise the powers. The example of the real sovereign is provided by the president of the United States.

c. Legal Sovereignty

In every state there is a person or a group of persons who enjoy the power to formulate laws and enforce them which is known as Legal sovereign. According to Garner the Legal form the highest commands of the state. In short, legal sovereignty implies the authority in whose name all the laws are made. However, in our times it rests with the legislative bodies like the parliament of India and the Congress of U.S.A.

d. Political Sovereignty

According to Dicey behind the legal sovereign there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow and, this power is the political sovereign. The political sovereign is the sum-total of the influences in a state which be behind the law. In common language it refers to the power of the people which manifests itself in the shape of public meetings, Speeches, processions, demonstrations etc.

e. Popular sovereignty

The concept of popular sovereignty which forms the basis of modern democratic government holds that the people are the ultimate sovereign. The traces of this concept can be found in the writings of the Roman period. However, in

modern times it is mainly associated with the name of Roussean who propounded the theory of "General Will" in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century with the spread of democracy the doctrine of popular sovereignty gained more prominence and is at present universally accepted in all democratic societies.

f. Defacto and De-jure sovereignty

A destination is sometimes made between de-facto and de-jure sovereignty. The dejure sovereign is the actual sovereign to whom obedience is actually given. Such a person or body as the legal right to rule the country and to enact laws for its governance. On the other hand De-factor sovereignty may rest purely on physical force or religious influence. And uprising king, a self-constituted assembly, a military dictator or even a priest or a prophet may become the sovereign in fact though he may have to legal justification to exercise powers. History is full of examples of such sovereigns. Cromwell, after he had dissolved the long parliament, and Napoleon after he had over thrown the Directory may be cited as examples. Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan is the defacto sovereign.

2.4.3. John Austin Theory of Sovereignty

John Austin expounded the legal theory of sovereignty in his book Lectures on Jurisprudence published in 1832. His views were based on the teachings of Hobbes and Bentham. His theory of sovereignty was based on his view of the nature of law. He defined law as a "Command given by a superior to an inferior" and definition of sovereignty which reads" if a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society.

And analysis of, the definitions of Law and sovereignty helps us to draw the following deductions.

i) In every state there is a sovereign.

ii) The sovereign is a determinate person viz., sovereignty rests in a particular person or a fixed group of persons.

iii) The sovereign is not in the habit of obedience to any other authority. This implies that the sovereign exercise control over all other

individuals, institutions and things within the jurisdiction of the state but is himself free from all sorts of controls.

iv) The sovereign is not subject to any legal restraint. There is no legal limit to his or its authority.

v) The Power or authority of the sovereign is indivisible.

vi) Whatever this superior commands is law and without him or it there can be no law.

In a way these propositions emphasize the basic features or characteristics of sovereignty viz., absoluteness, Universality, permances, indivisibility, inalienability etc.,

2.4.4. LIMITATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

A sovereign is omni competent. This does not mean that the sovereign can act without restraint. There are certain limitations on sovereignty.

First and foremost a sovereign should respect the moral and religious sentiments of the people. If one acts contrary to the generally accepted moral and religious norms of the society or tries to enforce its will over that of the community it may lead to revolution and subsequent removal of the sovereign from power.

Some opine that there are some constitutional limitations on the actions of the sovereign. They argue that since constitutional law is superior to all laws, the power of the sovereign are restrained by the constitution.

International law as well as inter national treaties and conventions are sand to be yet another kinds of restrictions this is contrary to established facts. Legally it has every right to waive them and pursue a policy to further its own interest. Since it is not possible to enforce it.

> **Check your Progress Questions**
>
> 1. Mention the meaning and definition of Sovereignty
> 2. What are different characteristics?
> 3. What are the different kind of Sovereignty?
> 4. Explain John Austin Theory of Sovereignty
> 5. Mentioned briefly the limitation of Sovereignty

2.5. SUMMARY

This Unit has given clear picture and meaning and definition of the state. And all so it provides details to know the various theories which contributed to the origin of the state and also attempt to study meaning and definition of sovereignty. It also attempts to describe the characteristics of sovereignty. Moreover it deals

with analysis of the John Austin theory of sovereignty and the limitation of sovereignty

2.6. KEY WORDS

a) Jurisdiction	-	refers to territorially limited authority or control
b) Coerce	-	compulsion
c) Confronted	-	different ideas
d) Community	-	Collection of People
e) Preservation	-	Safe guard
f) Paramount	-	Supreme, chief or superior in power
g) Sprout	-	Pud out leaves, cause of grown
h) Hereditary	-	Passed on one generation to another
i) Titular	-	Existing in name but not having authority
j) Manifests	-	The truth of a statement

2.7. Answer for Check your Progress questions

For question No - 1	Reference Section No. 2.1
For question No - 2	Reference Section No. 2.2
For question No - 3	Reference Section No. 2.3
For question No - 4	Reference Section No. 2.3.1
For question No - 5	Reference Section No. 2.3.2
For Question No: 6	- Reference section No: 2.4
For Question No: 7	- Reference section No: 2.4.1
For Question No: 8	- Reference section No: 2.4.2
For Question No: 9	- Reference section No: 2.4.3
For Question No: 10	- Reference section No: 2.4.4.

2.8. Books For Further Reading

1. C.B. Macpherson, Democractic Theory : Essays in Retrieval, Oxford, The Calerendon Press 1977.
2. S. Ramasamy, Political Theory : Ideas and concepts, Delhi, Macmillan, 2002
3. S.P. Varma, Modern Political Theory, New Delhi, VIkas. 1983

1.9. Questions and Exercises

1) What are the important elements of the state?

2) How the state came into existence according to the social contract theory of Rousseau?

3) Examine various notion of sovereignty

4) Describe John Austin legal theory of Sovereignty

UNIT – 3

RIGHTS AND DUTIES :
EQUALITY

INTRODUCTION:

Right are conditions for the development of personality of man. A state is known by the rights it maintains. These are called rights because these are useful to attain the end which the state seeks to serve. The condition created by the state to ensure the security of the individual and property are generally known as rights. Equality, like liberty, is an important pillar of democracy. like liberty, scholars have assigned different meanings to this term too, and its is not possible to give any precise and universally accepted meaning to this term.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this Unit, the student will

a) To Study the meaning and Characteristics of rights

b) To know the various theory of rights

c) To analyse a relationship between rights and duties.

d) To understand the concept of Equality

e) To study the difficulties of achieving Equality

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1. Definition and Nature of Rights

3.1.1. Characteristics of Rights

3.1.2. Theories of Rights

3.1.3. Various forms of Rights

3.1.4. Fundamental rights

3.2. Duties

3.2.1 Duties of the citizen in modern democracies

3.2.2. Citizen duties to the state

3.2..3. Relationship between rights and duties

3.3. Meaning of Equality

3.3.1. Development of the Concept of equality

3.3.2. Dimensions of equality
3.3.3. Political Equality
3.3.4. Economic Equality
3.3.5. Natural Equality
3.3.6. Difficulties in achieving equality
3.4. Relationship between Equality and Liberty
3.5. Summary
3.6. Key words
3.7. Answer for CYP questions
3.8. Book for further Reading
3.9. Questions and Exercise

3.1. DEFINITION AND NATURE OF RIGHTS

According to Laskhi "rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best. It may be noted that the right is by no way a selfish claim because the selfish interest of one may become the hurdle to others. On the other hand right is a disinterested wish which everyone can have for one's good and which may be applied to all. It is in the interest of the state to maintain rights. Laski has rightly said that "Every state is known by the rights that it maintains"

According to Bosanquet, "A right is a claim recognized by society and enforced by the state.

Salmond says Rights are concerned with interests. A legal right is an interest recognized and protected by the rule of Law.

3.1.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF RIGHTS

The above definitions of rights show that there are certain inheret characteristics of rights. They are

1. The rights are guaranteed by the state
2. Rights are available not only to a few persons but to all
3. Rights are conditions of good life and without them the human personality cannot develop.
4. The rights are intimately linked with duties.

5. The Rights are not static and have a tendency to grow and change according to circumstances.
6. The rights are not absolute and are subjected to reasonable restrictions in the larger interests of the society.
7. The state does not create rights it merely recognizes them.

3.1.2. THEORIES OF RIGHTS

Theory of Natural Rights

This is one of the oldest theories regarding rights and we find traces of this theory in the writings of Greek and Roman thinkers. But it was in the 17th and 18th centuries that the theory was popularized by philosophers like Hobbes. Locke etc., Locke specially attached great importance to the natural rights. He went to the extent of making them source of all political obligations. According to locke the need for a civil society was felt for safe guarding the natural rights. He went to the extent of making them source of all political obligations. According to Locke the need for a civil society was felt for safeguarding the natural rights of men. The three right mentioned by locke were right to life, liberty and property. The ideas of Locke exercised profound influence on the *American Declaration of Rights of* Man. Similarly the French National Assembly also declared the right to liberty, property, and security. According to the natural theory of rights, the rights existed even prior to the creation of the state. The state cannot curtail these rights.

a) The legal theory of rights

The legal theory of rights is like that of monistic theory of sovereignty. This theory holds that the rights are the creation of the state and there could be no rights prior to the creation of the state. A person can have only those rights which are granted to humbly by the law of the state. The state not only creates but also maintains and enforces these rights. It also reserves the right to make necessary modifications in these rights. In other words, it assumes that the rights are dynamic.

b) The social welfare theory of rights

This theory holds that the *rights are conditions* of social Welfare. As Hobbes has observed" Genuine rights are the conditions of social welfare. These rights are created by the society and aim at realizing the social welfare. In simple

words the rights are those conditions which make individual and the society happy. The utilitarian fully supported this theory and propounded the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

c) The Idealist theory of rights

This theory views the rights in purely moral terms and considers them essential for the moral development of the individual. Green described the rights as Powers "necessary to the fulfillment of man's vocation as a moral being". This theory holds that an individual cannot realize his full stature without rights. The rights enable the individual to develop his physical, mental and moral facilities to the full and ultimately contributes to the development of the society.

d) Economic theory of rights

This theory, mainly associated with the name of Karlmarx. He tries to interpret the rights in terms of the economic system prevailing in a country. According to this view during the feudal period the rights were essentially meant to promote the feudal interests. There can be genuine rights for all the members of the society only under a socialist system.

3.1.3. VARIOUS FORMS OF RIGHTS

Rights of a citizen may be broadly divided into moral rights are what we thing ought to be our rights. They are based on the moral conscience of the community. But moral rights are not recognized by the state. There is no legal force behind them. These rights are violated there is no legal remedy. Moral rights, when recognized by the state, turn into legal rights.

Legal rights are granted and upheld by the state. If any person violates a legal right to another, the affected person can seek remedy through the court. Legal rights are sub-divided into civil, political and economic rights.

The civil rights include the right to life, right to liberty, right to property, right to education, right to contract, right to speech, right to association, right to religion, right to family and right to equality.

The political rights are the right to vote, right to be elected, right to public office and the right to criticize the government.

The economic rights include the right to work, right to equal wages, right to form and join trade union, right to a decent standard of living and the right to rest and leisure.

Dorothy Pickles makes a further classification of rights into theoretical rights and enforceable rights. The rights guaranteed to the people by the constitution and other documents without making provisions for enforcing them are called theoretical rights. Rights that can be enforced through court are called enforceable rights.

3.1.4. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

In addition to the above civil and political rights generally the citizens are granted certain fundamental rights. These rights are described as fundamental because they are fundamental to the development of individual personality. They are superior to the civil and political rights enjoyed by the citizens because they are incorporated in the constitution. Further, these rights are justifiable and their violation can be enforced through the courts of Law. These rights are some times also known as constitutional rights because they are enshrined in the constitution.

3.2. DUTIES

Duty is only an obligation. Since men lives in a society, he must observe certain norms of behaviour. Duties are of two kinds – moral and legal. Public opinion and not law, is the sanction behind moral duties. If an individual fails in his moral duty, he cannot be punished by the state. He can only be condemned by the society. Legal duties are enforceable by courts of law. failure to observe them, may result in punishment according to law.

Duties may also be classified into positive and negative. The positive duty will promote social good or welfare. Whereas negative duties which are actually legal restrictions, the observance of which may result in a healthy atmosphere in the society. The success of a democratic state greatly depends on the performance of their respective duties by its citizens.

3.2.1. DUTIES OF THE CITIZENS IN MODERN DEMOCRACIES

The citizens should not be concerned with their rights only. They should be equaly alive to their duties and responsibilities. John Locke was of the view that if a man has a right to live, he has a corresponding duty. Everyone living in the society is to obey the laws of the society. Right will have an automatic flow if the citizens render their duties. These duties can be studied under four heads.

i) **Citizen's duty to himself**: It is the duty of every citizen to take proper care of his physical and mental health. A citizen by himself is a pillar of the state. If one pillar is weak the entire structure will collapse.

ii) **Citizen's duty to his family**: Citizenship begins at home. It is the duty of a citizen to maintain good relations with the members of he family. He should look after the health of the members of his family and should provide education to the children and the dependents.

iii) **Citizen's duty to his neighbours:**A citizen should be social and co-operative to his heighbours. If any of his neighbours is in difficulty, he should at once come to his assistance.

iv) **Citizen's duty to his locality** :Every citizen has to serve his own locality with the spirit of a good citizen. He should raise his finger at the sight of fifty his locality and inform the local authorities.

3.2.2. CITIZEN'S DUTIES TO THE STATE MAY BE OF THE FOLLOWING

- Allegiance – loyal
- Obedience
- Payment of Taxes
- Public Spirit and sincere work
- Help to the public officials in the maintenance of law and order.
- Honest use of rotes
- Tolerance
- Resistance.

3.2.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RIGHTS AN DUTIES

Rights and duties have close relations as days and nights. Rights and duties are two faces of the same coin. Rights enable a person to enjoy certain facilities and thereby he can
contribute his utmost to the society and the state. There has been for too much emphasis on rights and far too little on obligation. If obligations were undertaken rights would naturally flow from them.

EQUALITY

3.3. MEANINGS OF EQUALITY:

In common parlance the term "equality" is used for identity of treatment and identity and identity of rewards. However, this is not a correct use of the term because absolute equality is not possible. Again some scholars assert that nature has created men equal. However, this is also not correct because some people are physically stronger while some others are weak. Some are dull while others are intelligent and sharp. In short, nature has not created all as equals and there are differences in strength, intellect etc., amongst various people. Therefore absolute quality is a myth.

Like liberty, equality has also been assigned both negatives as well as positive meaning. In the negatives sense equality means the absence of special privileges. It implies the absence of the barriers like birth, wealth, caste, colour, creed, etc. As Laski has put it, equality means that all should be entitled to the enjoyment of all social political privileges to which others are entitled.

Check your Progress

1) Mention the meaning and nature of Rights
2) Explain characteristics of rights
3) Write various theories of rights

In the positive sense equality means provision of adequate opportunities for all the members of the society. It may be observed that adequate opportunities does not mean equal opportunities. For example an engineer and an ordinary labourer cannot be treated at par and provided equal wages and other facilities. Equality in this sense is neither practicable nor desirable. Therefore equality really means the provision of adequate opportunities to all citizens without any discrimination. According to Laski " Equality, means absence of all special privileges" as well as 'adequate opportunities' for all. It is fundamentally a leveling process.

3.3.1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

The concept to equality is not that old as the concept of liberty, even though we get faint traces of the concept in the writings of the stoics as well as the Romans. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the concept gained popularity. The French Revolution of 1789 was largely a protest against the prevailing inequalities and the revolutionaries adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) asserting that men are born and always continue free and equal in respect of their fights. The American people in their declaration of independence also professed faith in the principle of equality. The declaration said we hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal'. Almost all the scholars of this period viz Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, etc laid emphasis on equality. On the one hand they upheld principle of equality by birth and on the other hand, they insisted on equality before law. In other words, they laid emphasis only on civil and political equality and we do not find any reference to economic or social equality in their writings.

It was only in the twentieth century that effort was made to eliminate inequalities in the economic and social sphere and necessary laws were enacted to protect the interests of the workers. It was emphasized that equality in the economic sphere was more important than equality in the civil and political spheres. It was asserted that political liberty without economic equality was useless. The decline of imperialism and colonialism and the emergence of a large number of independent states in Asia. Africa and latin America gave a further impetus to the principle of equality. All the states began to be treated as equal at the international level irrespective of their size, resources and importance. The war against racial discrimination and the introduction of universal adult franchise further strengthened the doctrine of equality. Most of the modern states devoted great attention to the improvement of the economic lot of the deprived ones to bring about economic equality. Though much has been done in this regard, much still remains to be accomplished.

3.3.2. DIMENSION OF EQUALITY

The concept of equality is a dynamic one and has kept on changing according to times. Accordingly different scholars have suggested different

dimensions of kinds of equality. Laski mentions only two kinds of equality viz. political and economic. On the other hand Lord Bryce refers to four kinds of equality viz., civil, political, social and natural. Barker also mentions two types of equality viz legal and social. However, in the social equality he also includes the economic equality. Without going into controversy as to which one of the above classification of equality is more acceptable. Let us discuss the various kinds or dimensions of equality. Civil equality implies equality of an before law. All citizens irrespective of their status and position should be treated at par and now distinction should be made on the basis of caste, creed, sex, political opinion, social status, place of birth etc. the laws of the state should be passed for the benefit of all and should not be used as instrument for the promotion of interest of a particular section of population. Equal rights should be available to all the persons and no body should be denied enjoyment of any right. In the words of Jennings "Equality before the law means that amongst equalis the law should be equal and should be equally administered and that like should be treated alike".

3.3.3. POLITICAL EQUALITY

Political equality means that all the citizens should have the right to participate in the affairs of the state without any discrimination on grounds of caste, colour, creed, sex, status etc, All the avenues of authority should be open equally to all the citizens and they should enjoy the right to vote, right to contest elections, right to criticize the government, right to hold public office etc. The doctrine of political equality is based on the twin principles of universal adult franchise and human dignity.

3.3.4. ECONOMIC EQUALITY

In modern times scholars have attached great importance to economic equality and consider it as vital to the existence of other types of equality. For example Laski says "Political equality is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality. Political power, otherwise is bound to be the hand maid of economic power. Economic equality does not imply that there should be equal distribution of wealth, because this sore of equality is incapable of realization.

On the other hand it means that there should not be concentration of wealth in a few hands only and certain minimum standards of income should be assured to

all before anyone can be allowed to have more. In other words the basic needs of all should be met before some people are permitted to lead a luxurious life. Prof. Laski expresses this point thus “I have not right to take cake when my neighbour is compelled to go without bread”. In short it can be said that economic equality is the kinds of the equality.

3.3.5. NATURAL EQUALITY

The concept of natural equality rests on the principle that nature has created every one as equal. However, if we took around us we will find that it is not true, because we find people differ in their height, intellect, physical force, colour etc. Name has not bestowed all human beings with the same qualities. Interpreted in this sense the idea of natural equality is a myth. However, in the wider context it implies that all inequalities are man-made and artificial. The law should treat all at par and provide equal facilities to all without distinction.

3.3.6. DIFFICULTIES IN ACHIEVING EQUALITY

According to Dorothy M.Pickles, to achieve anything like real equality of opportunity will be very difficult. Like all general principles, equality of opportunity is much easier to state in general terms than to work out in practical detail. It is difficult because it involves two conflicting principles: one is that equality of opportunity means trying to give every individual as reasonably a good chance as any other. Second, it means treating people as individual cases. But political institutions inevitably have to deal in categories. The government ought to prohibit night work for all women or all pregnant women. If the government decides that all are to stay at school until the age of fifteen, any exceptions to the rule ought to apply again to defined categories. The individual circumstances may be more important in determining opportunities than any thing the state can do. Some feel that if there is any remedy for inequality, that remedy is not political but it is a question of slow evolution. But some others feel that the political means is the possible remedy for social inequality. They also feel that the particular methods that the modern democratic and socially progressive states have adopted is not the remedy.

Check your Progress

4) Define the term equality
5) Describe the Development of the Concept of equality
6) Write a note on Dimension of Equality
7) What are the difficulties in achieving equality

3.4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EQUALITY AND LIBERTY

Before taking up the relationship between equality and liberty it may be pointed out that while equality has essentially an economic connotation Liberty has primarily a political connotation. For the smooth enjoyment of liberty what is needed is a guarantee for equality. Here equality does not mean uniformity. What it means is equality of opportunities. There cannot be uniformity among men, because men are different in their wants and capacities. So equality actually means equality of opportunities and abolition of all differences on the basis of caste, religion, birth etc. If a citizen has political social, legal and economic equalities he can best enjoy the corresponding liberty. Thus equality is the basic condition of liberty.

3.5. SUMMARY

This Unit has given clear picture and meaning and definition of the state. And all so it provides details to know the various theories which contributed to the origin of the state and this unit provides details to understand meaning of equality, Development of this concept equality, Dimension of equality. It also attempts to analyses difficulties in achieving equality and to able to study the relationship between equality and liberty

3.6. KEY WORDS

a) Vocation	-	Profession
b) Guarantee	–	Give safeguard
c) Allegiance	-	Loyal
d) Tolerance	_	Patience
e) Parlance	-	Choice of words, Common
f) Imperialism	-	belief in the value of colonies
g) Colonialism	-	inhabitant of a colony – dependent
h) Franchise	-	right to vote at elections.

3.7. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS FOR

Question No: 1	-	Reference Section No: 3.1.
Question No:2	-	Reference Section No: 3.1.1
Question No:3	-	Reference Section No: 3.2.1

Question No:4	-	Reference Section No: 3.3
Question No:5	-	Reference Section No: 3.3.1
Question No:6	-	Reference Section No: 3.3.2
Question No:7	-	Reference Section No: 3.3.6

3.8. BOOK FOR FURTHER READING

1. R. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, Englewood cliffs NJ, Prentice Hall, 1963
2. D. Easton, The Political System: An inquiry into the State of Political Science, Newyork, wiley, 1953
3. D. Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, 196.

3.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Rights are social conditions for the development of individual personality comment
2. Explain the nature of Rights and duties in modern democracy.
3. Comment the term equality and it's kinds.
4. Bring out the difficulties in achieving equality.

UNIT – 4

LAW :

BEHAVIOURALISM

INTRODUCTION

"Man when perfected, is the best of animals, but when separated from the law and justice, he is the worst of all" – Aristotle.

Law is considered as the hallmark, if not the essence of the state. To Maclver "the state is both the child and parent of Law". It is through the instrument of law, the state expresses and realizes the will of the people. Law not only prescribes the rules of behaviour is possible. In modern times, law becomes the instrument of socio-economic development which lays the foundation for the welfare state.

The twentieth century witnessed the emergence a new approach to the study of political science known as behaviouralism. This approach was developed by the American political scientist after first world war although it gained popularity only after the second world war.

OBJECTIVES:

By Studying this Unit the student

a) To know the evolution of Law

b) To study the meaning definition and essential of law.

c) To analyses the sources of law

d) To understand various kinds of Law

e) To understand origin and Background of Behaviouralism

f) To Study the achievements of Behaviouralism in Political science

g) To analyse the limitation of Behaviouralism

h) To learn post – Behaviouralism

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1. Evolution of Law

4.1.2. Meaning and definition of Law

4.1.3. Essential of Law
4.1.4. Sources of Law
4.1.5. Kinds of Law
4.2. International Law
4.2.1. Law and morality
4.2.2. Law and Justice
4.3. Origin and Background of Behaviouralism
4.3.1. Behaviouralism and Behaviourism
4.3.2. Growth of Behaviouralism
4.3.3. Meanings of Behaviouralism
4.3.4. Robert Dahl about Behaviouralism
4.3.5. Traditionalism versus Behaviouralism
4.4. Achievements of Behaviouralism in Political science.
4.4.1. Limitations of Behaviouralism
4.4.2. Post – Behaviouralism.
4.5. Summary
4.6. Key words
4.7. Answer for check your progress question
4.8. Books for further Reading
4.9. Questions and Exercises

4.1. EVOLUTION OF LAW

We can deal with the evolution of law from two points of view (a) a narrow legal point of view (b) a broad philosophical point of view. The following is a brief summary of the evolution of law from the philosophical point of view. In this we shall discuss the view on law by Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St.Augustine, Hugo Grotius, John Locke, Rousseau, Bentham and John Austin.

Plato in his Republic discussed the significance of law to the state and society. He was of the opininon that the philosopher-king should be entrusted with the governance of man. In other words, he preferred that, society should be governed by wise men with the help of "occasional decrees". However he changes this rule of law in his later writing.

Aristotle was realistic unlike his master Plato, who was considered to be the first idealist. He gave importance to law from the very beginning. He defined law as "Reason unaffected by desire". He wanted "uniform Laws", to be "Unifomly administered" by the state. He emphasized constitutional rule. He believed in the collective wisdom of the people. He considered a law made by the people as superior to the law proclaimed by a philosopher king who was supposed to represent the highest wisdom at any given time in a state.

The idea of law was developed by the Romans almost to perfection. They were inspired by the concept of natural law as advocated by the stoics Natural law was considered to be rational and universal. Cicero gave importance to natural law. Cicero observed, "For as the laws govern the magistrate, so the magistrate is a speaking law and the law a silent magistrate.

St. Thomas Aquinas made remarkable contribution to the field of law during the medieval period. He was called the Christiansed Aristotle of the Middle Ages. He classified laws as eternal, natural, divine and human. Aquinas identified eternal law with the reason of god. The natural law was considered as a reflection of divine reason. Divine law was identical to revelation. This revelation was made through the religious scriptures. Divine law was also revealed by god through chosen persons. Human law was meant for human beings. This was divided into law of nations and civil law.

In the modern period, Hugo Grotius contributed to the evolution of the idea of law. He defined law as a "dictate of right reason". He observed that "the mother of law is human nature itself". To him law reflected reason. The contractualists, namely, Hobbes, locke and Rousseau also wrote on law. To Hobbes, law was the command of that person, whose precepts contains in it the reason of obedience.

Locke observed that the laws of the state must be in conformity with the laws of nature and of God. To him laws of the legislature cannot be arbitrary. The state cannot exercise authority by extemporary decrees but only by "promulgated standing laws and known authorized judges". The true state to Locke must be a constitutional state. Government must be established by standing laws promulgated

and known to the people and not by extemporary decrees". Nor man should be subjected to " the inconsistent, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man".

According to Rousseau, law is an expression of the general will. A law is a resolution of the whole people for the whole people, touching a matter, that concerns all.

To Bentham, the state is primarily a law-marking body. It consists of a group of persons dedicated to the promotion and maintenance of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It has to act through law. Law must be the command of a supreme authority. The authority must be habitually obeyed.

John Austin is considered as the founder of the analytical school of jurisprudence. He also defined law as command. To Austin positive law is only true law. Austin did not underestimate the significance of customs in society. He defined a positive law as a command given by a political superior. Any disobedience of this law shall be visited by penalties. Austin also made a difference between the spheres of law and ethics.

4.1.2. MEANING & DEFINITION OF LAW

The word law is derived from an old Teutonic root 'leg' which means something which lies fixed or evenly. Its English equivalent is "that which is uniform". In the popular parlance the term law is used in a variety of senses. It is often applied to any sequence of cause and effect observed in the physical world.

Definition of Law:

The term law has been defined variously by different scholars. Austin defines law as a command of the sovereign in the state. According the Woodrow Wilson, law "is that portion of established thought and habit which has gained distinct and form and recognition in the shape of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of government" By law, Salmond refers to "the body of principles. recognized and applied by the state in the administration of Justice". Perhaps, the best definition of law is the one given by Holland. In his words, law is "a general rule of external human action enforced by a sovereign political authority". Although none of these definitions are comprehensive enough to cover

the entire gamut of law, yet, each is correct in that it throws light on a particular aspect of the term law.

4.1.3. ESSENTIALS OF LAW

The foregoing definitions suggest certain essential characteristics of law which are as follows:

1. Law implies an organized civic community; in the pre-social laws cannot exist.
2. Law represents a set of rules governing the conduct and behaviour of the people.
3. Law regulates external human activities only. It does not govern thoughts and conscience of man.
4. Law is enforced by the state with all coercive authority at its command
5. Violation of law shall be visited by penalty.
6. Law should be definite and precise.
7. Law is universal in its application.
8. Law should promote the general welfare of socity.
9. Law should be dynamic and not static. It should change in accordance with changing will and aspirations of society at different times, climates and places.

4.1.4. SOURCES OF LAW

Law is the result of development and a product of history. Several factors have contributed to the development of law. These factors are regarded as the sources of law. The sources of law are customs, religion, judicial decisions, scientific commentaries, equity and legislature.

a) Custom: It is the earliest source of law. It is difficult to say how or when a particular custom arises in society. But undoubtedly it was a result of choosing deliberately a better custom when two paths of action were open or an accidental repetition of a way of life formed a habit. When others also realized its usefulness it developed into custom. In primitive societies the known kind of law that existed was of this type and was called customary law. Custom as such was the basis of law in such societies. In modern times customs are being replaced by

law. Even it cannot be denied that customs play an important part in the evolution of the legal system. Customs are recognized by law courts and they have the force of law.

b) Religion: Rules of life in the primitive community had a religious sanction. Custom was law and law was religion. The relationship between religion and politics could be judged from the relationship between kingship and priesthood. The early Roman law was only a collection of religious rules. The personal laws of the Hindus and the Muslims have much contact with religion. Gilchrist says "in the West law tended to become political: in the East religious".

c) Judicial Decisions: Law are made by Legislature and not by the Judges. But while applying laws the Judges have to interpret the laws and thus give Judgment. These judgments of the law courts are binding on every body. Therefore, thought it is not the function of the judges to make laws, indirectly by interpreting the laws they perform the function of law making as their decisions are to be obeyed by every body. Such laws are called Judge-made laws or case-law. As the decisions of the law courts are as effective as the laws of the legislature they are regarded as a source of law. It is in this sense that Justice Holmes said that Judges do and must make laws.

d) Scientific Commentaries: Jurists carefully examine and study customs, usages, laws passed by the legislature and judgments given by the law court. Their views expressed after careful study are taken note of by the Judge who base their judgments on the commentaries of the legal experts. Though by themselves such commentaries are not regarded as law but because these commentaries are the basis of judgments by law courts they are regarded as source of law. The commentaries of Blackstone, or the writings of Kent and Coke are held in high esteem, and fall into this category.

e) Equity: Equity denotes fairness or justice: equity is judge-made law. But it is different from adjudication. Adjudication is an interpretation of existing laws. Equity provides relief where a law does not. The judge gives his judgment according to fairness. Equity is a means by which additions are made to existing laws. This practice has been prevalent since the days of the Romans.

Gilchrist speaks of three types of equity (1) exclusive (2) concurrent (3) auxiliary. Equity is exclusive where it recognizes rights not recognized by the common law: it is concurrent where the law recognizes the right but does not give adequate relief: and auxiliary. where the necessary evidence cannot be procured.

f) Legislature: Legislature is the most important and chief source of law in modern times. In democratic countries, laws are made by popularly elected legislative bodies. The laws made by them reflect the will of the people. "Legislation" says Woodrow Wilson" is the conscious and deliberate organization of Law". While equity, legal decisions, and scientific commentaries still have an important part to play, the laws made by the legislature are coming to occupy a superior place.

4.1.5..KINDS OF LAW

Law could be classified by adopting a variety of principles. One method of classification is on the basis of relationship that exists between individuals, between the individual and state and between states, another method of classification relates to rights and duties i.e. laws that create and confer rights and laws provide protection of those rights; laws could also be classified by taking into consideration the body that makes those laws such as the changes brought about into the constitution by laws by the legislature, executive actions in the form of rules and ordinances which have the effect of law and judicial decisions or the judge – made laws.

Law has been broadly classified as national law and international. National law is also called municipal law. In ancient times national law was called municipal law and it included both the public law and the private law. In modern times we use the term national law that is applicable to a territory and at times we use the term national law for the law that is applicable to a territory and people living in a state. A state's laws come under the category of national law. National law is of two kinds – constitutional and ordinary law. Constitutional law tells us about the organization of the state and the functions performed by the government. Ordinary law is concerned with relationship that existed between the state and the individual.

Ordinary law is further sub-divided into public law and private law. Public law regulated the relationship between individuals and the state. Private law deals with relations among individuals. Both the parties concerned in private law are private individuals, and the state performs the role of a judge. The state make laws, which are expected to be enforced impartially.

Administrative law deals with relations of officials with the state. It establishes a separate organization called administrative courts with remedies under administrative law for violation of individual right by officials of the state in the performance of their official duties. Such a system of law is in existence in France. A general law tells us about the relationship between a private citizen and the state. International law is concerned with the relations between one state and another in times of peace and war.

4.2 INTERNATIONAL LAW

Every state is independent and sovereign. Nevertheless no state can remain totally isolated. There are mutual exchanges among them and these have further gained strength because of modern means of communication and increasing economic dependence. We thus notice that independent sovereign states establish relations but these relations need to be regulated. The rules and regulations which are observed by states in their dealings are called international law. Though the scope of the international law was earlier limited to the relationship among states we find that today, even the interests of individuals and organizations are the concern of international law.

4.2.1.. LAW AND MORALITY

While law is concerned with external relations of man, morality deals with the inner motives. Law is branch of political science while morality is a part of ethics. Both law and morality deal with the life of man in the society. Social order is a necessity for the development of the moral personality of man and social order is made possible by the state. The state could provide the necessary physical conditions for man to lead a moral life.

There are certain noteworthy differences between law and morality. Law is universal, exact and definite. Morality is uncertain and vague. The individual is the best judge of what is good for him. Individual standards of morality differ. Morality can never be collective, what is morality for one may not be so for another. Moral duty and moral obligation need not always coincide with another. Law is for specific circumstances but morals perhaps are to be observed always. Law deals with liberties and obligation. Morality is concerned with values. Since morality is something that is inherent in human nature it is beyond external controls and restriction.

4.2.3. LAW AND JUSTICE

A law has to have both validity as well as value. The validity is given by the authority of the state and justice gives it value. In the words of Ernest Barker "autority gives validity to law and justice gives it value". A law has validity and one is legally obliged to obey it. it is declared, recognized and enforced as law by the authority of the legally organized community acting in its capacity of a state. Ideally, law ought to have both validity and value.

BEHAVIOURALISM

The twentieth century witnessed the emergence a new approach to the study of political science known as behaviouralism. This approach was developed by the American political scientist after first world war although it gained popularity only after the second world war. According to Robert Dahl this approach was a sort of protest movement within political science associated with a number of American political scientists who were dissatisfied with the conventional methods of the study of political science viz historical, philosophical, descriptive and institutional approaches. They hold that new methods or approaches should be developed which could help to provide empirical propositions and theories for systematic study of political science. In the words of Dahl it was a movement for "bringing political studies into closer affiliation with theories, methods, findings and outlooks in modern psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics, with a view to make the empirical component of political science more scientific. The above views of Dahl are largely based on the statement of David B.Truman made at a seminar held at Chicago in 1951. Truman

Check your Progress Questions

1. Write a note on evolution of Law
2. Define the term law
3. Mention the essential of Law
4. What are the sources of Law
5. Describe the different kinds of Law
6. Explain Law and morality

said 'Roughly defined, the term political behaviour comprehends those actions and interactions of man and groups which are involved in the process of government'.

4.3. ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND

The term Behaviouralism has been drawn from the field of psychology where it was originated by John B.Watson in his book Behavioursm (1925) Watson emphasized the idea of focusing on empirically observable psychological data rather than abstractions like psychology, ego, etc. He turned his attention away from clinical problems of psychopathology and laid emphasis on experimentalism. However, the political behaviouralists do not fully share the view of Watson that science should deal only with hard data and completely disregard preferences and values. On the other hand they hold that the ideas and values play a significant role in shaping the political phenomena.

The Behaviouralist approach has a steady history of development through the writings of scholars like Arthur F.Bentley (The process of Government, 1908), Graham Wallas (Human Nature in politics, 1908) Charles E.Merriam (New Aspects of politics, 1927), Harold D.Lasswell (Psychopatholdogy) and politics, 1930 and Who Gets, What and How, (1935) All these writers tried to make use of the empirical data with a view to reconstruct and explain the political phenomena.

In the later years important contributions to the development of behaviouralism were made by scholars like David.B.Truman, SHerbert Simon, G.A.Almond, George E.Catlin, David Apter, Sidney Verba, Robert Dahl and others.

4.3.1. BEHAVIOURALISM AND BEHAVIOURISM

Behavioralism, as already pointed out is a method of analyzing and interpreting political facts. It is concerned with political behaviour and scientific interpretations of political organizations, reactions and well established definitions. It is quite prepared to accept the findings of researches of other improvements and further research. The behaviouralists have no faith in individualistics values and guesses and thus they are absolutely opposed to the traditionalists. On the other hand behaviourism is a psychological concept which aims at eliminating from

scientific research all references to such subjective data, purposes, intentions, desires and ideas.

4.3.2. GROWTH OF BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism primarily developed in USA, It came to prominence after the outbreak of second world war. It began to get when Ford Foundation established the Behavioural science division. Now in USA many important journals based on Behavioural approach are coming out. Among mention may be made of Public Opinion Quarterly: World Politics: American Behavioural Scentist: and Behavioural Science. The Social Science Research council in USA has set up two committees named committee on, Political Behaviour and committee on comparative politics.

Main approach of Behaviouralism now are David Easton, Lasswell, Hernz Eulau, Edward Shills, Powell etc. In order to have proper understanding and development of Behaviouralism, it is essential to divide it into three parts namely Behaviouralisn, development of Behaviouralism from the second world war to 1965 and its growth from 1965 to the present day. Historical growth of Behavioralism is associated and liked with realistic and empirical studies which were started by Graham wallas in "Human Nature in Politics", Arthur Bentley's the Process of Government and Charles E. Merriam's New Aspects of Politics. As already said Merriam as president of American science Association gave great fillip to behaviouralist approach to the study of Political science. After the world war II, Behavirouralism passed through second stage of development. It was during this period that theoretical schemes and research designs were evolved and an attempt was made to develop an empirical theory.

4.3.3. MEANINGS OF BEHAVIOURALISM

What are the meanings of behaviouralism is a problem because for quite some time the idea remained that those who were not satisfied with traditional methods of study of Political science should be brought together. They, therefore, gave the subject meaning which suited their convenience and interpretation, Views of some of the thinkers who have discussed the scope and meaning of behaviouralism may be discussed as under.

Heinz Eulau in'Segment most susceptible to Behaviouristic Treatment (Contemporary political analysis) has said that, "Modern behavioural science is eminently concerned not only with the acts of man but also with his cognitive, affective and evaluative process.

Begavour in Political behaviour, then refers, not simply to directly or indirectly observable political action but also to those perceptual, motivational and attitudinal components of behaviour which make for man's political identifications such as demands and expectation and his system of political beliefs, values and goals.

4.3.4. ROBERT DAHL ABOUT BEAHVIOURALISM

According to Robert Dahl beghaviouralism is nothing else but a protest movement within political science. The behaviouralists were dissatisfied with the achievements of convertional political scientists, achieved primarily through historical and descriptive institutional approaches. Dahl also said that the aim of Behaviouralism· also was stating the phenomena of government in terms of observed and observable behaviour of men. He is of the view that behaviouralism is just an approach which aims at improving our understanding of politics and making the empirical components of the discipline more scientific.

David Easton and behaviouralism assumptions and objectives which form the intellectual foundation stones of Behavioural movement are as follows:

According to David Easton

1. **Regularities:** There are discoverable uniformities in political behaviours. Those can be expressed in generalizations or theories with explanatory and predicative value.

2. **Verification:** The validity of such generalizations must be testable, in principle, by reference to relevant behaviour.

3. **Techniques:** Means for acquiring and interpreting data cannot be taken for granted. They are problematic and need to be examined self consciously,

refined and validated so that rigorous means can be found for observing, recording and analyzing behaviour.

4. **Qualification:** Precision in the recording of data and statement of findings requires measurement and qualification, not for their own sake, but only where possible, relevant, and meaningful in the light of other objectives.

5. **Values:** Ethical evaluation and empirical explanation involve two different kinds of propositions that, for the sake of clarity, should be kept analytically distinct. However, a student of political behaviours is not prohibited from asserting propositions of either kind separately or in combination as long as he does not mistake the one for the other.

6. **Systematization:** Research ought to be systematic that is to say, theory and research are to be seen as closely intertwined parts of a coherent and orderly body of knowledge. Research untutored by theory may prove trivial, and theory unsupportable by data futile.

7. **Pure Science:** The application of knowledge is as much part of the scientific enterprise as theoretical understanding. But the understanding and explanation of political behaviours logically precedes and provides the basis of efforts to utilize political knowledge in the solution of urgent practical problems of society.

8. **Integration:** Because social sciences deal with the whole human situation, political research can ignore the findings of other disciplines only at the cost of weakening the validity and undermining the generality of its own results. Recognition of this inter-relationship will help to bring political science back to its status of earlier centuries and return it to the main fold of social sciences.

4.3.5. TRADITIONALISM VERSUS BEHAVIOURALISM

The above discussion is likely to give the impression that behaviourslism consititutes a sharp break with the traditional view of politics in so far as it lays great emphasis on empirical research in place of the traditional approach of the

study of the history of political philosophy. It is true that a serious debate still exists between the traditionalists and the behaviouralists. There is no serious difference between the two.

While the traditionalists give an ethical or moral orientation to their study the behaviourlists try to make a value neutral study and seek to deal with what constitutes a reliable knowledge. But if we analyse the whole issue more objectively. It shall be evident that there is not much contradiction between the two. No doubt, at the initial stages the traditionalists seriously criticize the behaviouralists on various counts but slowly they came to realize that behaviouralists have made the discipline more self-conscious and self critical by adopting inter-disciplinary approach and refining its research techniques and methodologies.

4.4. ACHIEVEMENTS OF BEHAVIOURALISM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The behaviouralists had their impact and influence on the study of political science. They have developed, discussed and tried to find solutions to the problems of modern political science. They have also developed new analytical approach and outlook. Political science has now started borrowing data and facts from other social science subjects. The achievements of behaviousalists can broadly be divided into two parts, namely, theory building and techniques of rèsearch. They helped in the development of and refinement of tools and techniques of research. Harolo' lasswell used first systematic content analysis in political science and thereafter this was used by others as well. Under the influence of Behaviouralists, Political scientists began using interviewing and observation methods and considerable sophistiscation was achieved in the use of sample surveys, and remarkable changes in the use of statistics. They tried to develop conceptual frame work. During this period empirical research was considerably facilitated and had adopted inter-disciplinary approach. They have made it clear that political behaviour cannot be studied in isolation and political scientists must borrow from the knowledge which other sccial subjects as well as the natural sciences have already in their possession. This is no less remarkable an achievement, if viewed impartially.

4.4.1. LIMITATIONS OF BEHAVIOURALISM

Though the trasitionalists have conceded the important contributions made by behaviouralism to the study of politics, they assert that the behavioural approach is not adequate in itself for the understanding of politics. The behavioural tools can be helpful for the analysis and understanding of the parts, but they are far from adequate for the comprehension of the realities of the whole. According to Mulfore Sibly, for the understanding of politics one should have "the kind of insight" characteristic of the artist, as well as the precision which we usually associate with science – the comprehension of inter – relations of parts to whole in addition to the analysis of parts themselves.

Mulford Sibley is also highly critical of the behavioural approach and has highlighted its numerous limitations. In the first place he asserts that there is no clear definition of the term 'behaviouralism'. Second; the behaviouralists are not clear about the area and the object of their study. Third, the observer cannot explain his behaviour through the behavioural methods. Fourth, behaviouralism cannot tell us what we ought to value but can only, assume a given set or hierarchy or values as the basis for its statements.

However, Seely suggests a synthesis between the traditional and the behavioural approaches.

4.4.2. POST BEHAVIOURALISM

In mid-sixties a reaction started against behaviouralism. Realizing that the behaviouralist scholars were devoting more time at attention to the conceptual frame work, models and theories rather than the study of social, economic and political crisis, certain scholars challenged the purpose and utility of research which could not predict social, economic and political maladies. The lead in this regard was taken by a leading behaviouralist David Easton. In his presidential address of 1969 he expressed deep dissatisfaction with the existing political research and teaching, especially the research striving to convert the study of politics into a more rigorously scientific discipline modeled on the methodology of natural sciences. Instead he impressed the need to relevance and action. He

> Check your progress questions
> 7. Explain original back ground of behaviouralism.
> 8. write a note on growth of Behaviouralism
> 9. Discuss Robert Dahl about behaviouralism.
> 10.Describer the achievements of Behaviouralism in political science.

highlighted seven traits of post behaviouralism and described them as 'credo of Relevance' The seven traits of post – behaviouralism given by David Easton were as follows:

1. Substance must come before technique. The research must be relevant and meaningful for contemporary social problems and the techniques however sophisticated were of secondary importance. He asserted that it was better to be than non-relevantly precise.

2. Mere reliance on description and analysis of facts hamper the understanding of the facts in their broadest context.

3. The behavioural inquiry is based on abstraction and analysis and conceals the brute realities of politics. Post-behaviouralism aims at breaking these barriers and reaching out to real needs of the mankind in a time of Crisis.

4. The behaviouralism had created an unhappy situation by throwing out 'value' in their considerations. The value play an important role in the social system and must not be completely ignored.

5. Political scientists have major tasks to perform in society and have a responsibility to do the best to protect the human values of civilization. Therefore, they should not keep themselves away from social problems in the name of detachment and objectivity and time consuming research.

6. Action science is preferred in their place of contemplative science and it is said that a sense of commitment and action must permeate and colour the entire research in political science.

7. As the society has to attain certain goals, the intellectuals have certain obligation to work for the attainment of those goals.

4.5. SUMMARY

This unit analysis the evolution of law meaning and definition law. It also provides details to know the sources of law and to study various kinds of law. It is also enables to compare law and morality. Moreover this unit provides details to

understand origin and growth of behaviouralism. And also it deals with Robert Dahl on behaviouralism and the achievements of behaviouralism in political science. It is also helps to study post-behaviouralism in political science.

4.6. KEY WORDS

a) Hallmark	-	as a guarantee of quality
b) Primitive	-	undergone little development
c) Commentaries	-	Collection of comments on a book
d) Adjudication	-	give a judgment
e) Behaviouralism	-	Overt Political or social behaviour
f) Behaviourism	-	doctrine of human action
g) Empirical	-	doctrine based upon the belief series of generations.
h) Traditionalist	-	doctrine based upon the belief, series of generations

4.7. ANSWER FOR CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

For question No.1	Reference section No.4.1.1
For question No.2	Reference section No.4.1.2.
For question No.3	Reference section No.4.1.3.
For question No.4	Reference section No. 4.1.4.
For question No.5	Reference section No.4.1.5
For question No.6	Reference section No.4.2.1
For question No.7	Reference section No.4.3.
For question No.8	Reference section No. 4.3.2
For question No.9	Reference section No. 4.3.4
For question No.10	Reference section No. 4.4.

4.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, Englewood Cliffs, NJ Prentice Hall, 1965
2. D. Held, Political theory Today, Cambridge, - Press, 1991
3. H.J. Laski, Grammer of Politics, London, Allen and Unwin, 1948.

4.9. QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. Explain the meaning and evolution of law.
2. Describe the sources and various kinds of law.
3. Distinguish between law and morality.
4. What are the objectives and assumption of behaviouralism as defined and discussed by David Easton?
5. Discuss about the role of behaviouralism in Political science during twenty century

UNIT – 5

POLITICAL CULTURE : POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The concept of political culture is quite recent in political science, but it is very rapidly drawing the attention of political scientists. It is therefore interesting to study as to what is political culture and how that is related to general culture. Similarly it is equally interesting to study different types of cultures, which have been categorized as parochial culture, subject political culture and participant political culture. Then another interesting study in this regard is as to what is the relationship between the political system and political culture. Can a society have a single uniform culture is another problem worth studying. Of course no one can deny that the study will be incomplete without studying its significance and the contribution it has made in the field of political science. Political socialization is one of the key concepts of political science. According to Almond and Powell the study of political socialization seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understanding political stability and development. Its special signification in the modern world is a consequence of the great changes which are 'affecting so many contemporary societies. It is a process through which political culture becomes a part of one's personality. Political socialization is essential for developing group responsibility among the isolated individuals.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the students

a) To know culture and political culture and its characteristic

b) To study the dimension of political culture

c) To analyse Almond and verba's typology of political culture.

d) To know the process and stages of political socialization

e) To study the types of political Socialization

f) To analyse the elements of political socialization.

g) To identity the agents of political socialization

h) To understand significance of political socialization

UNIT STURCTURE

5.1. Culture and political culture

5.1.1 Characteristics of culture

5.1.2. Dimensions of political culture

5.1.3. Political objects of political culture

5.1.4. Almond and verba's view about typology of political culture

5.2. Variation and changes in cultural patterns

5.2.1. Sub-Cultures

5.2.2. Consensus

5.3. Process and stages of political socialization

5.3.1. Types of political socialization

5.3.2. Elements of political socialization

5.3.3. The agents of political socialization

5.3.4. significance of political socialization

5.4. Summary

5.5. Key words

5.6. Answer for Check your progress questions

5.7. Books for Further Reading

5.8. Questions and Exercises

5.1. CULTURE AND POLITICAL CULTURE

As already said the term political culture is comparatively of recent origin in political science. It was first used by Gabriel Almond in 1956. It is necessary to clearly understand both the terms, culture as well as the political culture.

The term "culture" has been differently defined by different people. According to Redfield, culture is an organized body of conventional understanding manifested in art and articraft, which persisting through tradition characterizes a human group". According to Taylor, "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society". According to Maclver, "Culture is the realm of final valuations and human beings must interpret the whole world, including their own devices, techniques and power in the style of their valuation. According to Graham Wallas," culture is an accumulation of

thoughts, values and objects, it is the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations through learning."

5.1.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE:

1. Culture includes all which man has created and which he can possibly improve upon.
2. Culture is communicated from one generation to another in physical form
3. Culture has a link with the past. Culture preserves those features of the past which are of eternal nature.
4. In the changing course of history culture manifests man's mind in varying moods.
5. Culture can become integrated and has a definite order and system. Every new element which is introduced in the culture gets integrated in it.

5.1.2. DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Political culture has three dimensions, namely,

a. Cognitive orientations

b. Affective orientations and

c. Evaluative orientations

Cognitive orientations

In so far as cognitive orientations are concerned, according to Almond and Powell, these meant recognition of political objects and beliefs. It pertains to knowledge and awareness of political objects and events. A political culture conditions the perceptions of the political system and its processes, and the extent to which people pay attention to and focus on political events.

Affective orientations

From affective orientations they meant feelings of attachment, involvement or rejection about political objects. For example, those who believe in the Indian way of life, feel strongly attached to and prefer the Indian democratic and secular system and become involved as voters. In some countries such negative affective orientations are more intense. Minority nationalists groups such as Basques in

Spain, French-speaking people in Canada have no feeling of attachment to the national community and may want to form their own political unit.

Evaluative Orientations

Evaluative orientation involves application of Judgments and opinions of political objectives and events. Those who believe in equality, individuals rights and human freedom will tend to evaluate highly democratic systems. Such a culture tends to evaluate highly democratic system. Such a culture tends to evaluate authoritarian and totalitarian systems in negative terms. Those who believe in the ideology of socialism will tend to evaluate a capitalistic system in negative terms.

5.1.3. POLITICAL OBJECTS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

There are different political objects of political culture e.g.Attention can be focused on the question as to how the citizens view the national political system as a whole. Similarly the question can be raised whether the political system in operation has any major impact on the lives of the people or not. Objective of the political culture can be a focus on the attitudes to particular role or structure. It can be an attitude of the people to public servants namely whether they are helpful or unhelpful, indifferent, honest, duty-conscious, corrupt, whether they can influence public servants or not and so on. Then the focus of the study can be on the behaviour of the officials who hold positions whether the officials are property performing their duties or not; and whether they should be allowed to continue where they are Political object of political culture can be to find out if the people fully relize and appreciate the stand taken by political bosses on important public policies and issues.

5.1.4. ALMOND AND VERBA'S VIEW ABOUT TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Almond and Verb a have identified three broad types of political cultures, Parochial, Subject and Participant. These cultures may be distinguished by the extent to which citizen orientations have been developed.

Parochial Political culture

In this type of political culture one finds low cognition of political objects. There are no specialized political roles but instead only diffused political – economic religious roles are to be seen. The people have very low expectations about change. Such a situation and type of political culture is found in African tribal societies and in autonomous local communities.

Subject Political culture:

In this type of Political culture cognition, valuation and evaluation are comparatively high in so far as the outputs of the systems and structures are concerned, But evaluation of inputs and input structures are low. "In other words in subject culture finds a high frequency of orientations to the differentiated political system and to its outputs, but very little to its inputs or the self as a political actor. The relationship toward the system is passive."

Participant Political Culture:

It exists in highly developed societies where people take active part in the political sphere by considering themselves as active members of the party. They are well conscious of their rights and duties. According to Almond and Verba "the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both input and output aspects of the political system. Evaluation and criticism fo the system exist at all levels.

5.2. VARIATION AND CHANGES IN CULTURAL PATTERNS

Most contemporary political cultures are in a spectrum somewhere between subject and participatory political cultures. It is because all societies consists of people with diverse beliefs and values. In Weston democratic societies there exists participant political culture, yet in each society there are some sub-cultures particularly among the lower socio-economic groups and racial minorities in which one may find subject culture.

The culture change taking place in contemporary societies also leads to variations in political cultures prevailing in these societies. The most profound changes are occurring in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. In these countries the proportion of people who hold subject orientations is diminishing and those holding participatory orientation and evaluating orientations are increasing.

5.2.1. SUB-CULTURES

Sub-Cultures exist when a particular set of political orientations, beliefs, values, and behavioural norms is fundamentally different in some respect and clearly distinguishable from others in the political system, when a prevailing culture pattern is not shared by all. Sub-Cultures involve different basic beliefs and conceptions of authority and scope and usually result from membership in different ethnic, religious of linguistic groups, form different geographic locations. For example, some blocks in American society, tribal groups in Africa and religious groups in Asia constituted sub-culture within the prevailing culture pattern. The sub-cultures tend to create a sense of difference than common identity in that people may not be identified as Indians but as members of religious, lingulstic or other groups which possess a distinctive sub-culture.

5.2.2. CONSENSUS

"Consensus" is important for the stability and effectiveness of a political system. A consensual society is one in which despite the pervasiveness of complexity and intensity of social conflict, a degree of consensus on fundamentals prevails. It may be a substantive consensus, a relatively broad agreement not on everything and not among everyone, but on most of the fundamental beliefs, value, behavioural norms, and goals of the society.

A "dissensual" society lacks either or both of these dimensions of consensus. When people have different sets of ideas and values, resolving conflicts or effecting a compromise becomes extremely difficult. On the other hand, political stability and effectiveness are enhanced when people have similar ideas as to what constitutes a legitimate form of government.

Check your progress questions

1. What is political culture
2. Discuss the characteristics of culture.
3. What are Dimensions of political culture
4. Write a note on Almond and verb's views on political culture.

5.3. SOCIALIZATION

The process of political socialization ordinarily acts in a casual manner. In other words it operates in a quiet manner without people's being aware of it. A new-born child is not a born socialized creature, He is socialized by means of a learning process. It begins with childhood and continues in adolescence and adulthood and ends with the death of man in his old days. The process of socialization continues even after the period of childhood. Almond and Powell write that the socialization process goes on continuously throughout the life of an individual attitudes are always being adapted or reinforced as the individual goes through his social experiences.

The nature of the process of political socialization of work varies over time and according to the environment of what it is part and to which it contributes. It is related to the nature of the political system and the degree and nature of changes. According to Rush and Althoff, "The more stable the polity, the more specified the major agencies of political socialization will be; conversely, the greater the degree of change in a non-totalitarian polity, the more diffused the agencies of political socialization will be".

5.3.1. TYPES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political socialization, according to Almond Powell is of two types. They are,

a) Manifest

b) Latent

(a) It is manifest political socialization when "it involves the explicit communication of information, values or feeling towards political objects",

(b) Latent political socialtization is " the transmission of non-political attitudes which affect attitudes toward analogous roles and objects in the political system",

The civics courses in public high school level exemplify manifest political socialization. Latent political socialization may occur with particular force in early

experience. It involves many of the most fundamental characteristics of the general culture which has great effect on the political sphere.

Elements of socialization. Broadly speaking there are three elements of society, namely

a. physical.
b. Environmental and
c. Cultural

By physical elements we mean such qualities and hindrances which a child acquires from his birth. This helps him in the process of socialization or hinder him, over them society has very little control.

Environmental elements also influence his process of socialization. An individual is brought up under a particular environment and he is definitely influenced by the environments.

The culture of the society, in which an individual is born in also responsible either for his early or for slow socialization process. In short, elements of socialization can be described as under.

5.3.2. ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Authoritarian method is very effective and useful for socialization. It begins with the parents from the birth and considered necessary for social adjustments. Since the elders command respect from the child, it is generally easy for them to get their instructions carried out. Because the fear of punishment is also there, the process of socialization becomes easy and speedy. But this method has one drawback and that is external and hence not spontaneous.

Role of equals:

When and individual comes across with those persons who are equal to him, he usually learns co-operation, adjustment and association from them, In fact there are many processes which he learns from his equals rather than the elders.

Role of Education:

The environment play a very important role in the process of socialization. Those children who are brought up in good and healthy environment learn good manners as compared to those children who are not brought up in good conditions. It is mainly due to environment that one becomes a criminal and offender or social or anti-social or politically conscious or unconscious.

Role of Physique:

Physique of the person also plays an important role in the process of socialization. A person who is physically handicapped cannot be as much socialized as a person of his age who is physically good. But this need not be true all the time.

Role of Friends:

An individual is also influenced by the attitudes, manners and tastes of his friends. It is through these playmates that the process of socialization is accelerated and he begins to love or hate political processes, system and institutions.

Role of Married life:

Married life also influences the process of socialization. After marriage both husband and wife are required to learn of interdependence and adjustment. They begin to love each other and appreciate the feelings of the other. The attitude of husband or wife towards politics goes a long way in either accelerating or slowing down the process of political socialization. If both are interested in political activities the process of political socialization can be quick, but it is slow if one of them has different attitudes.

Role of Experience:

Each person gains some experience with the passage of time and these experiences influence the process of socialization. A person with good experience with his political gurus, might try to plunge himself in political life with a force and resources available at his command. On the other hand, his bad experience with political leaders might result in leaving politics commenting that politics is a game of scoundrels.

5.3.3. THE AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

According to Almond and Powell there are eight main agents of political socialization

1. The family
2. The school
3. Peer groups or Reference groups
4. Employment experiences
5. Mass Media
6. Government and Party agencies
7. Symbols
8. Direct contact

The Family:

The family is the child's first window on the world outside; it is the child's first contact with authority. It is here that the first difference in the expectation between the sexes are implanted and surveys have shown the strong the strong link between the voting behaviour of parents and their children. According to Almond and Powell "the family unit is the first socialization structure encounted by the individual. The latent and manifest influences inculcated at the early stages in life have a powerful and lasting influence".

The School:

According to Almond and Powell "The School structure is a second powerful influence in political socialization." The educational system has important effects on the process of socialization. The values imparted by schools and universities may not be the result of direct political indoctrination, but are none-the less important. Almond and Verba in their five nation study found without exception that "the educated persons were more aware of the impact of government on their lines, paid more attention to politics, had more information about political processes, and manifested a higher degree of political competence." Those educated in particular school, college, or university may develop one kind of frame of mind though there are always exceptions whereas others taking education

in a different educational set up may cultivate different attitudes. School can also play an important role in shaping attitudes about the political system.

Peer groups:

Peer groups or reference groups also play an important role in shaping values and orientations and thus socialize individuals particularly where family ties are loosened in an industrial society. Martin Levy found a tendency for individuals to adopt the majority group within the 'peer groups'. As the person grows older, some peer groups that were circumstances work, associates , neighbors and above all husband or wife.

Experiences in Employment:

Experience in employment may also shape political orientations. The job and the formal and informal organizations built around it the union, the social club, and the like may be channels for the explicit communication of political information and beliefs. The authors suggest that participation in the process of collective bargaining or involvement with strike can be a powerful socializing experience for worker and employer alike. The striking labourer not only learns his role in shaping the authoritative decisions being made about his future, but he gains knowledge of specific action skill such as demonstrating and picketing which may be used in political participation.

Mass Media:

According to Almond and Powell, "the role of mass media in political socialization must not be overlooked. In addition to providing information about specific and immediate political events, the mass media act over the long run to shape the individual's basic "Cognitive map". They may play or have the potential of playing an even greater role in developing nations for the media provide the best tool for regimes that seek to change their citizens traditional orientations and behaviour.

Government and party agencies:

A word must be added about the influence of direct contact with the political system. The government and party agencies influence and shape the political orientation of the people. Political parties are the most important agents of

Check your progress questions

5. Write a note on process and stages of political socialization.
6. What are the types of political socialization?
7. Explain the elements of political socialization
8. Discuss the agents of political socialization
9. Mention about the signification of political socialization.

political socialization through political propaganda, electioneering, presenting their views in written and spoken political language, by recruiting people, and by articulation and aggragtion of their political interest. This political parties become the direct agents of political socialization.

Symbols:

Political and social symbols are important features of political socialization and contribute to the development of political orientation. These symbols include the birthdays of patriots; martyrdom days and the celebration of events of national importance. In India, Republic day, Independence day, birth anniversaries of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, Martyrdom days of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose and of Lala Lajpat Rai are celebrated at national occasions. The coronation ceremony, in England, strengthens the feeling of respects for monarchy. In Russia the birth anniversaries of Marx and Lenin, celebration of May-day and October Revolution are political symbols which reaffirm people's faith.

Direct contact:

When the individual and political system come in direct contact with each other, the process of socialization becomes more powerful. The elements like the arrest of person in some movement, compulsory recruitment, to go on hunger strike etc deeply affect the political thought and faith of an individual.

5.3.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The process of political socialization plays a significant role in the political system of every country. According to Almond and Powell "political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained as well as changed. Through like performance of this function individuals are brought into the political culture, their attitudes towards political objects are formed and changes in the patterns of political culture also come about through political socialization".

Its significance are

a) Political socialization creates enlightened citizenship

b) Political socialization helps in importing legitimacy to political system

c) Transmission of political culture provides political stability.

5.4. SUMMARY

This unit attempts to analyse political culture and characteristics of political culture in detail. It also provides details to understand, Dimension, objects and typology of political culture moreover it helps to study changes in cultural patterns, sub-culture and also this unit dealt with process stages and types of political socialization. It attempts to analyze elements and agents of political socialization. It provide details to understand the significance of political socialization.

5.5. KEY WORDS

a) Cognitive orientation	-	power of knowing
b) Affective	-	Orientation – move to mind
c) Evaluative orientation	-	Find the value of
d) Consensus	-	unanimity
e) Socialization	-	create ownership
f) Attitude	-	Posture of the body or mind
g) Transmit	-	Transfer, parson
h) Latent	-	existing but not showing any effect
i) Spontaneous	-	Happening naturally.

5.6. ANSWER FOR CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

For Question No.1	Reference section No. 5.1
For Question No.2	Reference section No. 5.1.1
For Question No.3	Reference section No. 5.1.2.
For Question No.4	Reference section No. 5.1.4
For Question No. 5	Reference Section No.5.3
For Question No.6	Reference Section No.5.3.1.
For Question No. 7	Reference Section No.5.3.2
For Question No. 8	Reference Section No.5.3.3
For Question No. 9	Reference Section No.5.3.4

5.7. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

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2. D.Held, Political Theory Today – Cambridge – Press, 1991.

3. C.B.Macpherson, Democratic Theory, Essey in Retreval, oxford, The clarendon press 1977.

5.8. QUESTION AND EXERCISES

1. Evaluate the contribution of political culture approach to political science.
2. Explain the typology of Political culture according Almond and verba.
3. What are the different dimensions of political culture?
4. What is political socialization? what are its types and processes?
5. Give and account of family as the agents of political socialization.

UNIT – 6

Space for Hints

GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY : DAVID EASTON'S INPUT AND OUTPUT ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION:

General system theory was an off-school of the Behaviouralist Revolution. It was born out or the realization that the results of researches should be pooled together. This was because independent development of individual disciplines was preventing cross flow of information between various field of study. For instance, human behaviour was the common concern of Sociology, psychology, Economics, Anthropology etc. But it was not possible to formulate a general theory out of the researches conducted in these disciplines. Therefore, the need for unification of sciences was keenly felt. The result was the development of the General systems Theory Integration of knowledge is the keynote of this theory. David Easton is famous for his systems approach. The first important presentations of the systems approach in political science was made by David Easton. He is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic framework based on the systems analyses to study political phenomena.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the students

a) To understand original growth of general systems theory

b) To learn systems theory and general systems theory.

c) To Study the advantages of general

d) To analyse the limitation of the general system theory

e) To study input output analysis

f) To analyse the criticism of input output analysis

g) To know the significance of input – output analysis

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1. Origin and growth general systems theory

6.1.1. Systems theory and general systems theory

6.1.2. Rober A.Dahl's test of a system.

6.1.3. Advantages of general system theory
6.1.4. Limitation of general systems theory
6.2. Input David Easton's output Analysis
6.2.1. Criticism of input – output analysis
6.2.2. Significance of input – out put analysis
6.3. Summary
6.4. Key words
6.5. Answer for Check your process questions
6.6. Books for further Reading
6.7. Questions and Exercises

6.1. ORIGIN AND GROWTH

Ludwig Von Baratallanfy is considered to be the originator of the general systems theory. He was biologist. He realized the need for unification of science and integration of knowledge. The general systems theory found its orgin in his writing. The theory, originated in biological science, was then converted into operational part in social sciences. This conversion is said to have taken place first in Anthropology. Then it passed on to Sociology, Psychology and political Science. Another source of influence came form the Vienna scientists known as Vienna circle. The Vienna scientists rejected traditional metaphysics. They favoured integration of knowledge. They differed widely in their views. But they agreed to have a common criteria to determine what constituted knowledge. Their logical positivistic approaches contributed to the growth of the General Systems Theory. The third influence which shaped the theory was Linguistic Philosophy. The advocates of this philosophy also discarded the metaphysical method. They avoided value judgements. In short, the writings of Bertallanty, the Vienna scientist, Logical positivism and linguistic philosophy were responsible for the origin and growth of General systems Theory.

The core of the General Systems Theory is the concept of systems. The term system has been defined in many different ways by several writers. Bertallenfy himself defined the system as "a set of elements standing in interaction". One definition that is more comprehensive is that by Ackoff. He defines a system as an entity that consists of independent but inter-related parts".

To Put it simply, a system may be explained as follows: a system is a combination of parts; they are independent but inter-related; the parts are formed into some characteristic structural relationship there is interaction between parts; and such interaction takes place on the basis of certain processes. This explanation is based on the assumption that there are certain common features of relationship between systems of all kinds.

6.1.1. SYSTEMS THEORY AND GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems and general systems are different. They are not to be confused. Systems theory is applicable to a particular system. It lends itself to more and more explanations of different systems. On the other hand, General systems theory is common to all systems. In other words General systems theory is not capable of giving explanation which will suit a particular system. Scholars disagree about the relative merits of these systems. Young, for instance, is of the opinion that systems theory is an off school of General systems Theory. But J.Sipro disagree and says that the systems theory has been in use in Political Science for quite a long time.

Robert A.Dahl defines the system as "a collection of elements that interact in someway with one another". In this sense a galaxy, a football team, a legislature and a political party may be considered as systems. There is no standardized set of definitions of terms. People therefore, indiscriminately apply terms like democracy, dictatorship, capitalism and socialism to borth political and economic systems. It must be understood that system can be a sub-system of another. In a society there is a great variety of human institutions. They are the sub-systems of society Political institution is a sub-system. Economic institution is another.

6.1.2. TEST OF A SYSTEM

Robert A.Dahl has suggested a four fold criteria to test a system. They are:

1. A system is an abstract presentation of concrete things. It is an aspect of things. It is in some degree abstracted from reality for purposes of analysis. Examples the circulatory system of a mammal or the personality system of a human being.

2. A system should have clearly defined boundaries. Such demarcation is not always easy. It may be easy in the case of solar system or the supreme court of a country. But what is the territory of a political party? Any way the boundaries of a system should be indisputable

3. One system can be a sub-system of another. The earth is a sub-system of the solar system; the solar system is a sub-system of the Galaxy; and the Galaxy is a sub-system of the Universe. Similarly, the Rules committee is a subsystem of the Parliament.

4. Something may be a sub-system of two or more different systems at the same time. A merchant may be an active member of the chamber of Commerce the State cricket board and the music Academy concurrently.

6.1.3. ADVANTAGES OF GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY

The general systems theory has several advantages

(1) It provides a systems perspective in describing and analysing political activity. Some of the central concepts of the theory such as the Structural-fuctional analysis, In-put Out-put analysis and Feed back are used.

(2) It helps to explain how a given system persists over a period of time. The descriptive concepts are highly useful in this regard.

(3) It is concerned with notions of order, change and goal-realisation of system. In developed countries the problems show to maintain themselves existing form. But in developing countries the challenges of change are different. Some of the techniques of the General systems theory may be useful to tackle such problems. They may suggest as to how the system could adapt itself to desirable changes and avoid breakdown.

(4) It seeks to answer questions relating to factors which cause changes in systems.

(5) It highlights the importance of goal realization as a central aspect of systems. This helps in the formulation or determination of goals.

(6) The General Systems theory also helps in the analytical study of systems.

6.1.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE THEORY

The general systems theory is criticized for its following limitations:

1. It lacks the capacity of explanation. It does not offer any explanation to political perception, expectation, formation or cognition.

2. It does not help in understanding such serious problems as power, influence or policy formulation. It ignores micro-analysis of forces with determine interaction.

3. It is much too broad a frame work of political analysis. The complex psychological aspect of interaction is not taken note of: consequently the functional aspect suffers.

4. Except the idea of feed – back the theory as a whole could not become – popular.

5. The theory could not give convincing answers to questions relating to the boundary line which divides the open and close systems or between organic and non-organic systems. It also does not explain how a system operates in conditions of stability, equilibrium and effectiveness or conditions of instability, disruption, and breakdown.

6. It does not offer a unified approach.

DAVID EASTON'S INPUT AND OUTPUT ANALYSIS

David Easton is famous for his systems approach. The first important presentations of the systems approach in political science was made by David Easton. He is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic framework basedon the systems analyses to study political phenomena. He has selected the political phenomena. He has selected the political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrated on the intersystem behaviour of various systems as principak areas of research. Political scientists before him studied only isolated political institution or area. Thay never led to a useful study because the environments around were altogether ignored.

For Easton, political system meant that system of inter-actions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations were made implemented. He said,

"The idea of political system proves to be an appropriate and indeed unavoidable starting point in research.

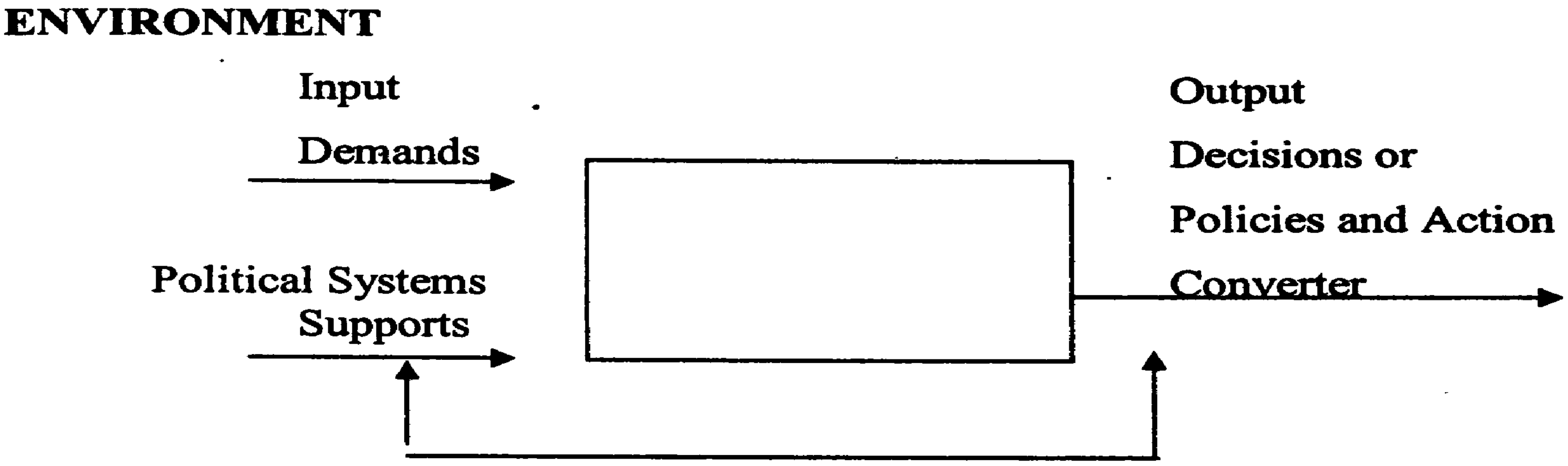
Check your progress questions

1. Explain origin and growth of general systems theory
2. Analyse systems theory and general systems theory
3. Discribe advantages of general systems theory
4. What are the limitations of general systems theory

Easton treated all political systems as both open and adaptive. He concentrated mainly on the study of political system and its environment. For him, the political system was constantly receiving from other systems stream of events and influence that shaped the conditions under which its members acted. Easton had emphasized the adaptive character of the political systems.

6.2. INPUT AND OUTPUT ANALYSIS

David Easton's analysis is also known as input analysis. Sometimes it is called the conversion process.



(Diagram representing Easton's input-output analysis)

Easton's definition of basic terms of system analysis :

1. Political system: Those institutions, processes and interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated in a society.

2. Environment: Those social, biological, political, economic and personality forces both inside and outside a particular that affect and are affected by the Political system but are analytically distinct it.

3. Inputs: Those events in the environment that act upon the political system and evoke some kind of response from it. According to Easton, there are two kinds of inputs-demands which are expressions of desire that values be allocated in particular ways; supports, which are expressions of willingness to accept particular value allocations r the processes by which the allocations are made.

4. Conversion process: those institutions, processes and interactions by which the political system converts demands and supports into output.

5. Output: Those action by the political system that affect the system's environment in some manner, consisting mainly of authoritative decisions, and

laws, executive orders Judicial decisions and the like promulgated by the authorities (people generally) recognized as having the legitimate power and duty to allocate values.

6. outcomes: These changes in the environment brought about by the outcomes.

7. Feedback:- Theses changes in the natures, intensity, and volume of demands and supports brought about by the outcomes.

8. Demands:- A demand is an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so.

9. Supports:- Supports are pressures brought on the political system to continue what it is doing. These come in the form for the obedience to laws, payment of taxed etc.

Easton divided the basic components of his model into inputs consisting of "Demand" and "support" and outputs connected by feedback support derive from satisfaction with the system's output, and from more generalized or diffuse support or approval for the system itself. The latter is necessary because a system's outputs cannot satisfy everyone. Easton distinguishes between external demands coming from the environment and internal ones from within the system.

A demand may be defined as an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so. Demand involves statement by individuals or groups in the society to the effect that social resources or values should be distributed in a particular war. Usually these demands reflect representations by groups of citizens who are interested in increasing their relative share of the value distributed by government. It should be noted that without the existence of demands there would be no need for a political system, that is, if everyone were satisfied with the way in which resources are distributed no need would arise to make decisions about who would receive them. If demands cannot be fulfilled, support for the system will decline. Thus the first reason why political system persist through change is that culture limits stress by controlling the flow of demands.

Inputs also include 'support'. The concept of support of refers to anyone of the various ways in which individuals or groups may orient themselves favourably towards a political object. For example people may develop a positive attitude towards a law passed by the legislature prohibiting the consumption of intoxicating liquor or towards a law of taxation. These favouable orientations may include expressions of *opinion* or *specific* actions and they may be directed towards political objects such as the person, groups, specific political goals or a given political institution.

For Easton, support may be diffuse or specific, positive or negative. Specific support is that which is given in return for the fulfillment of demands. He argues that if all the supports were specific the great majority of political system could not persist. Political systems arise because all demands cannot be met and because contradictory demands appear in social living. Thus, no political system can fulfill all the demands of all the people. There may be individuals whose demands cannot be met by the political systems. The outputs may run contrary to one's demands. However, people support the political systems because of their general or diffuse attachment to the political system as a whole or its norms or its authorities. Thus diffuse support consist of an orientation towards the political system, its norms or values or its decision makers, and is not associated with any perception that one's demands have been satisfied or attended to. Positive support is what we would ordinarily think or as implied by the idea of support, that is, attitudes or actions on behalf of a political object. Negative support is in fact opposition.

Outputs consist of authoritative allocations of values, that is or resources.

Easton uses his concept of feedback to analyse the function performed by these mechanisms. The feedback mechanism provides the means by which the political system is enabled to cope with challenges and stresses brought for it by the environment. Feedback helps the political system to persist through change.

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Easton uses his concept of feedback to analyse the function performed by these mechanisms. The feedback mechanism provides the means by which the political system is enabled to cope with challenges and stresses brought for it by the environment. Feedback helps the political system to persist through change.

6.2.1. CRITICISM

David Easton's model of input – output analysis has been subjected to severe criticism. It is criticized on the ground that Easton was not much interested in the individual. He viewed the individual from outside form the standpoint of the role he might be playing in preservation and persistence or disruption and destruction, of the political system.

Easton's model is designed for macro-level studies and not for micro-level studies. Even at macro-level it is not applicable to the study of third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A serious flow with Easton's model is that it is concerned with the present and has no perspective of future and no sound study of the past. Because of its anti-historical approach it is not able to see social reality in terms of time perspective. The model does not have any sound world view and has ignored the complexities of social conflicts and class relationship. Lastly Easton's analysis is rightly called anti-marxist. Easton's model gives no place to social contradictions and consequent class-struggle. It is rightly said that Easton's model has been developed as a "Conscious alternative" to Marxism. Easton's model puts an emphasis on stability and systems. Easton is a status-quoist, Marx was a revolutionary in his thought and practice.

6.2.2. SIGNIFICANCE

No doubt Easton's analysis has certain short-comings, but the fact is it has brought about a revolution in the sphere of political science. Easton's method of political analysis has two great advantages.

Firstly Easton's method of political analysis has the merit of going beyond the equilibrium approach and grasping change and dynamism in the

Check your progress questions
5. Write a note on David Easton input –output analysis
6. Discuss the criticism of input –output analysis
7. What are the significations of input –output analysis

system. Easton draws a clear distinction between system maintenance and system persistence.

Secondly, Easton's Method of political analysis is useful in the field of comparative political analysis. The conceptual framework provided by Easton presents us with a nicely standardized set of concepts. and categories which is logically inclusive and which makes it easier to bring broad and comparable overview of entire political system. It must be accepted that Easton produced once of the few comprehensive attempts to lay the foundation for systems analysis in political science and provided a general theory of politics.

6.3. SUMMARY

This is units provides details to understand origin and growth of general systems theory. It attempts to analyse systems theory and general systems theory. It also provides details to know the Robert Dahl's four fold criteria to test a system and also provides details to study advantages and limitations of general systems theory and also this units describes about the David Easton's input and output analysis towards political systems also provides details to understand criticism and the significance of input and out put analysis.

6.4. KEY WORDS

a)	Anthropology	-	Science of the whole nature of man and mankind
b)	Psychiatry	-	Pertaining to soul or mind
c)	Psychology	-	Science of the mind
d)	Metaphysical	-	Based on abstract reasoning.
e)	Phonomena	-	a thing that can be perceived.
f)	Feed back	-	a self regulating system
g)	Conceptual	-	forming an idea.
h)	Logical	-	the science of reasoning

6.5. Answer for CYP Questions

For Question No: 1 Reference Section No: 6.1

For Question No: 2 Reference Section No: 6.1.1

For Question No: 3 Reference Section No: 6.1.3

For Question No: 4 Reference Section No: 6.1.4

For Question No: 5 Reference Section No: 6.2

For Question No: 6 Reference Section No: 6.2.1

For Question No: 7 Reference Section No: 6.2.2

6.6. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. R.Dahl, Modern Political Analyses, Englewood cliffs NJ. Prentice Hall, 1963
2. H.J. Laski A. Grammer of Politics, London, Allon and Unwin- 1948
3. D.Easton, A. System Analyses of Political Life, Englewood cliffs, NJ Prentice Hall, 1965.

6.7. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What do you understand by General systems theory? Briefly discuss its growth.
2. Define systems and bring out the differences between systems theory and General Systems theory
3. What are the advantages and limitation of general systems Theory?
4. Describe Easton's input-output analysis?
5. what are the short comings of input-output analysis?

UNIT – 7

STRUCTURAL – FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS : POWER THEORY AUTHORITY – INFLUENCE

INTRODUCTION

Structural – functional approach in political science was studied about four decades back. It started with Libriz in mathematics and gained popularity with sociologists and social anthropologists before it came to political science in 1922. As such, structural functional analysis was developed by Talcott Parsons (1951), Merion Levy (1952) and Redcliff Brown (1975). The structural functional analysis centers around the concepts of structure and function. How something is done is structure. What is done is function. For example the distribution of goods and service to meet minimal human needs of survival is necessary function of any social system. How these goods and services are in fact distributed is a question. It may be the central government or the state government or the local government. A function is whatever action contributes to the maintenance or development of a system. Thus it may be understood that structures are those arrangements within the system which perform the functions whereas functions refer to the objective consequences of a pattern of action for the system in which it occurs. Power is one of the most serious problems of political science. It was a serious problem in the past, and continues to be so at present. Different thinkers have expressed their views on the subject, including Bertrand Russel, George Catlin, and Harold D. Lasswell. These thinkers have differing views. The concept of Power, however, gradually and slowly developed.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the students

a) To study Talcott parson's contributions towards structural-Functional contributions.

b) To analyse Almond's structural –Functional Analysis;

d) To study the origin of the concept of political power.

e) To know the concept political influence.

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1. Talcott Parson's Contribution

7.1.1. Structural – Functional Analysis in Politics

7.1.2. Almond's Structural – Functional analysis

7.1.3. Input Functions – Political Socialization and Recruitment

7.1.4. Interest Articulation

7.1.5 Interest Aggregation

7.2. Political Communication

7.2.1. Out put functions – Rule making

7.2.2. Rule application

7.2.3. Rule adjudication

7.2.4. Criticism

7.3. Characteristics of Power

7.3.1. Sources of Power

7.3.2. Kinds of Power

7.3.3. Theories of Power

7.3.4. Power Seekers or Leaders

7.3.5. Authority

7.3.6. Power and Authority

7.3.7. Authority and influence

7.4. Influence

7.4.1. Manifest and Explicit influence

7.4.2. Implicit or Potential influence

7.4.3. Difference in political influence

7.4.5 The means of Influence

7.5. Summary

7.6. Key words

7.7. Answer for CYP Questions

7.8. Books for Further Reading

7.9. Questions and Exercies.

7.1. TALCOTT PARSONS' CONTRIBUTION

Talcott Parsons who applied the systems analysis to his sociological enquiries identified four functions that should be performed if the society is to continue to operate. They are:

a) Pattern maintenance

The pattern maintenance function involves the transmission of major values, the application of sanctions against violation of values, prevention of situations which make violation of values possible. The agents of socialization play an important role in pattern maintenance.

b) Goal Attainment

The goal attainment function involves the attainment of declared goals through the mobilization of resources and the allocation of members to definite role. Here leadership plays an important role.

c) Adaptation

Adaptation function relates to the system's capacity to adjust to the environment in which it operates. The economic production and distribution system plays an important role in promoting adaptation.

d) Integration:

The integrative functions refer to the ability of the system to provide relation among the system components. There is continuous interaction between various individuals, groups, classes and interests in the systems. The system with its persuasive authoritarian structures should integrate individuals, groups, classes and interests into the social system. In the absence of such a function, the interaction between these elements can lead to serous tensions with disintegrative consequences. It is generally believed that the greater the degree of structural functional differentiation, the more progressive and advanced is the system.

The analysis of Parsons is of invaluable help in understanding the characteristic of each system and making meaningful comparisons.

7.1.1. STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS IN POLITICS

Mitchell, following the lead provided by Parsons, identified four functions of political system. They are

a) The authoritative specification of system goals;

b) The authoritative mobilization of resources to implement to the goal;

c) The integration of the political system as a whole and

d) The allocation among components of the system of values on costs of system operations.

Apter identifies in political system three kinds of structures and four types of functions. The structures are

a) A structure of authoritative decision – making

b) A structure of accountability and

c) Substructures.

The functions are

a) The force of sanctions in a society.

b) The providers of symbols linking a people's past and future.

c) The responsible agents for the orderly arrangement and performance of roles in the system: and

d) The providers of criteria for deciding on membership and participation in society.

7.1.2. ALMOND'S STRUCTURAL - FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS:

The most outstanding contribution to structural- functional analysis comes from Almond. His introduction to the "The politics of the developing Area (1960) is the best known sociological approach to the study of the political system.

In applying structural-functional analysis, Almond holds that political systems can be compared and ranked in terms of the mannar in which functions are performed.

Thus applying structural-functional analysis, Almond has developed lists of political function requisites. He divides them into four inputs and three outputs or (government) functions.

(A) Input functions (Political)

1. Political-Socialization and recruitment

2. Interest articulation
3. Interest aggregation
4. Political Communication.

(B) Output functions (government)

1. Rule making
2. Rule application
3. Rule adjudication

The latter (output) are equivalent to what we conventionally think of as the three branches of government the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

7.1.3. INPUT FUNCTIONS

Political socialization and Recruitment:

This is broadly the function of citizenship training and recruitment into political roles. He says,"All political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures mainly by the socializing influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the young pass through the process continues through adult life". These structures include the family, the church, the school, the work group, voluntary association, and media of communications, political parties, and governmental institution. Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture which may be either latent or manifest resulting in a set of attitudes or orientation towards the political system .

Political recruitment takes up where general socialization leaves off. It is concerned with the recruitment of citizen into the specialization role of the political system. Again it is necessary to examine the role family, kinship and image as well as the structures affecting specific induction pattern, such as political system, bureaucratic recruitment system, and others structures. The recruitment function consists of specific political role of socialization which occurs in a society on top off general political socialization.

7.1.4. INTEREST ARTICULATION

It is the process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision makes. There are four main topes of structures which are involved in interest articulation. They are.

a. **Institutional interest groups:** e.g the legislature, the political executive, the armed forces, the civil service, churches etc.

b. **Non-institutional interest groups:** e.g ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional groups which are less formal and intermittent. These groups are able to articulate more effectively if they are more formally organized.

c. **Anomic interest groups:** which employ unconventional and violent means likes riots demonstrations etc.

d. **Associational interest groups:** These are specialized structures such as trade unions, business organizations and religious associations which represent a definite interest and close knit organization.

Interest articulation takes place through demonstrations and violence, personal correction, access to political elites, formal and institutional channels of access like then mass media, political parties, legislature, bureaucracies etc. Interest articulation exhibits varied styles like manifest or latent.

7.1.5. INTEREST AGGREGATION :

Interest aggregation is achieved either by the formulation of general policies in which interest which have been articulated may be combined. Accommodated and compromised by the recruitment of political personnel who are more or less committed to a particular pattern of society political parties constitute the main instrument of interest aggregation. The general distinction between articulation and aggregation is that the former is a process by which interest demands are converted into definite policy alternatives.

The styles of aggregation vary according to the nature of aggregative structures. Almond identifies three distinctive styles of interest aggregation depending mainly on the nature of party system. They are:

(a) **Pragmatic Bargaining style:** In this style of aggregation a large number of interest are combined into a limited number of alternative policies. (eg.U.S, U.K., India)

(b) **Absolute value oriented:** This style of aggregation is based on the ideology which refuses to compromise on basic principles with a view to accommodating diverse interest e.g. China

(c) **Traditionalistic styles:** This style of aggregation depends on past tradition, history and established precedents.

7.2. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Political communication is the last of political or input functions. All functions of course are performed by means of communication. Almond has compared political communication with the circulation of blood which he describes as the medium through which other functions in the political system are performed.

Almond identifies five types of communication structures – two informal and three formal structures.

The informal structures are:

(a) Informal face to face contacts with neighbours, work associates etc.

(b) Traditional social structures such as family or religious associations.

The three formal structures are:

(a) Political output structure (legislature)

(b) Political input structure (interest groups and political parties)

(c) Mass media (Newspapers, TV, Radio, Magazines and Books)

The effectiveness of communication structures within the system depends on their autonomy i.e. whether or not these are independent or political control.

7.2.1. OUTPUT FUNCTIONS

Rule Making

It refers to how laws are formulated and decided upon. Almond prefers the term rulemaking to legislature, because the term'legisture' indicates a specialized structure and a definite process whereas the rule making function in many politics is a diffuse process. The rule making function takes the forms of initiation, modification and vetoing. The rule-making structures vary from one system to another depending on the legal and constitutional framework.

7.2.2. RULE APPLICATION:

Rule application, means the enforcement of rules made by the rule making authority in one form or the other. In the modern society rules are enforced by officials who need very high degree of administrative capacity. Almond and Powell identify five patterns of bureaucracies. They are:

1. Party dominated bureaucracies (which are prevalent in one party dominated system)
2. Military dominated bureaucracies (Military controlled civilian bureaucracies)
3. Rule – dominated bureaucracies (in which an autonomous ruler imposes his rule through a bureaucracy chosen by him)
4. Representative bureaucracies (in which real authority is in the hands of elected representatives of the people)
5. Ruling bureaucracies (where civilian bureaucrats themselves control the political system)

7.2.3. RULE ADJUDICATION:

Rule – adjudication is closely associated with judicial structures. Rule adjudication seeks to resolve the conflicting situation.

All these functions have a meaning in relation to the system and the structure of an on going system. They represent a certain ordering of determinate relationship by means of which they all contribute to the equilibrium of the system.

The inter–relatedness of the structures and functions gives to this structural functional analysis of Almond the systematic character.

7.2.4. CRITICISM

Almond's Structural – functional analysis has been criticized for several reasons S.P. Varma gives the following points of criticism.

First of all, Almond talks of functions without referring to a system in which functions have a meaning.

Secondly, his definition of political system is not very sound. It is not clear what he means by independent societies.

Thirdly when we come to a statement of the characteristic of political system we find that they all belong to the western political system, mainly to the American political system; so his analysis is not applicable to non-western societies.

Fourthly, the variable list of categories of functions also has it short comings. Between various interest groups mentioned, it becomes difficult to draw a boundary between the political and non-political.

Fifthly, Almond has not attached enough importance to the output functions and has failed to emphasize the importance of the feedback process in aggravating, or minimizing the challenge to the existence, or even the survival of the political system.

Finally Almond has not produced a theory, of course, nor even a well articulated classification scheme. The taxonomy is incomplete and ambiguous.

Check your progress questions
1. Give brief note on Goal attainment
2. Wrote a note on Almond's input function
3. Explain output fuction of Almond.

POWER AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE

Power is one of the most serious problems of political science. It was a serious problem in the past, and continues to be so at present. Different thinkers have expressed their views on the subject, including Bertrand Russel, George Catlin, and Harold D. Lasswell. These thinkers have differing views. The concept of Power, however, gradually and slowly developed.

In political science the concept of power is old. In the past it was discussed by Plato and Aristotle in general but realistic approach was given to this concept by Hobbes and Machiavelli. In the past some thinkers believed that power is vested with a community or in the state, while others believed that it was only vested in the individual. Concept of power at international level came into consideration after the emergence of states. In fact there is no political thinker who has either directly or indirectly not discussed about power. Macver is of the view that everything which is happening around us is, in some way or the other, concerned with power. It has also been said that power is essential or maintaining good order and that where there is power, there is proper law and order situation for running of management on sound footings. Behind every organization there is power.

7.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF POWER

'Power' has some characteristics, out of which the following are the main:

1. Presence of ability to influence the behaviour of others
2. Power is a certain kind of human relationship
3. Power depends on its use
4. Concept of Power involves the idea of severe deprivations.
5. Power is situational
6. Exercise of power must be for some purpose or goal
7. Power is relational
8. Power is relative
9. Power has two aspects – Actual and potential

7.3.1. SOURCES OF POWER

The concept of Power is many sided and vast. The political aspects of this concept is the subject of our study. The political aspects of power can be all the more clear by studying its sources. The following are the various sources of power.

1. Knowledge
2. Organisation
3. Social Status
4. Economic Status
5. Religious Satus

6. Size
7. Faith
8. Authority
9. Skill
10. Personality
11. Mass media

7.3.2. KINDS OF POWER

Different writers, on different basis, have explained the kinds of Power. Max Weber on the legal basis, Breasted on the basis of practicality and others on the basis of the use, flow and location of power, have explained the kinds of power. According to the view points of political scientists, following can be the forms of Power.

1. **Legitimate Power:** When the power is used according to the constitution, laws and accepted traditions of the people, it is legitimate Power. Legitimate power is of three kinds;

(a) **Constitutional Power**: Constitutional Power is that Power which a power holder receives from the constitution.

(b) **Traditional Power:** When the power of an individual is not based on constitution but rather on customs and traditions it is called traditional power.

(c) **Charismatic Power:** When the power of an individual is based on this unusual qualities or his sacrifices, for which people have love, faith and devotion it is called charismatic Power.

7.3.3. THEORIES OF POWER

Power theory has been developed different authors adopting different approaches.

To begin with, Thomas Hobbes viewed power as the root cause of competition among individuals. For him, power means domination as well as the ability to secure a good. Thus domination is power, wealth is power, friends are power, good luck is power. It is for this reason that the civil society is such that everyone, whether with moderate or immoderate desires, is necessarily pulled into a constant competitive struggle for power over others, at least his powers being commanded by others.

The next thinker after Hobbes who contributed to the growth of power theory is Hegel. He absolutised the sovereign authority to the extent of discarding the ethics of international morality. Following this line of thought in the present age, Prof. Hans. J.Morgenthau views that in international politics, power is the immediate aim. The power theory found its manifestation in fascism when Mussolini declared "nothing against that the state, nothing above it". These thinkers have understood the nature of Power in its physical terms alone. They have forgotten fact that power includes many things which may not be recovered by the compass of physical power. For example there are power of the soul, Power of the mind, power of ideas, etc which are not included in power when it is defined in physical terms.

In recent times Lasswell, Kaplan and Dhal have discussed the idea of power in detail. Lasswell and Kaplan have made power the subject matter of politics. Lasswell treats both power and influence in identical terms. But Dahl makes a distinction between power and influence.

Easton makes a sociological analysis of power and defines it as "the capacity of a social system to mobilize resources to attain collective goods".

For him "politics means authoritative allocation of values within a society". The decision making process is the source of authoritative allocation of values. Since the state has the power to make decisions, it should have the power to enforce its decisions.

Marx treats power as an instrument that connects economics with politics. For him political power is merely the organized power of one class oppressing another. Political power is the general and pervasive power which a dominant class exercises in order to maintain and defend its predominance in the civil society. This political power or class power is challenged by a counter power. Thus the situation breeds class war. In the class war the working class emerges as the winner of political power.

7.3.4. POWER SEEKERS OR LEADERS

In political life some persons seek power much actively than others and some persons gain much more power than others. Thus within a political state there is a substratum of power seekers and a substratum of powerful leaders.

Dahl pointed out a distinction between seeking power and gaining power. According to him not only are some power seekers unsuccessful in their efforts to gain it but some people who gain power may not actually seek it. This view raises two questions.

1. Why do some people seek more power than others?
2. Why do some people gain more power than others?

Dahl gave the following three reasons for answering the first question.

(i) Men seek power in order to achieve collective good. They wish to protect the interests of all citizens, achieve justice for all, benefit the state or provide for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

(ii) Men seek power in conscious pursuit of their self interest

(iii)Men seek power from unconscious motives.

According to lasswell, the power seeker is a person who places a high value on gaining power (and other values) for himself and has relatively high confidence that he can gain power and acquire at least a minimum proficiency in the skills of power.

Dahl gave two reasons to the second question

Why do some people gain more power than others?

1. Some people use more resources to gain power than others do. Some people use more resources to gain power than others because

2. They expect to gain more by doing so.

They have access to more resources. All other things being equal, it is reasonable to expect that people with more reasources would gain more power. But Dahl points out that all other things are usually equal even if their resources

were objectively identical. A might use a greater share of his resources in orders to gain power if he places a higher value than B, on the results of an outlay of resources to gain power. Because

a) A might expect different results from B
b) Though both expect the same results, A and B use different values or different scales to apprise the results.
c) Though they expect the same results, A feels more confident about the outcome than B does.

3. Some people gain more power than others because there is a difference in the skill of efficiency with the resources are applied. Some people use what resources they have more efficiently, more skillfully. It is because some people have more skills than others as a result of genetic differences, in the opportunities to learn and differences in situations and differences in incentives to learn or differences in motivations.

7.3.5. AUTHORITY

Aristotle on authority: Authority like power is not clearly defined by political scientists. It lacks precise meaning. Often the terms power and authority are used as if they mean the same thing. Aristotle says that all kinds of authority are not identical. He seeks to distinguish the authority of the political leader in a 'polis' or political association from other forms of authority. He gives the example of authority of the master over the slave, the husband over the wife and the parents over the children. He takes for granted that authority or rule is an important aspect of polis. He uses authority as a yardstick to classify constitutions.

Authority represents the moralization of power. It is legitimatised power through the provision of legal sanctions to it. It may justify it self on the basis of traditions, historical institutions and value patterns of a society. Authority has its technique. Its technique is represented through legal sanctions, statues, commands, writs, rules, regulations, bye-law etc. Authority is essentioally the institutional code. Power is only a medium. Within the frame work of authority

power is organized and legitimatised. When authority is legitimatised it is willingly obeyed. Authority is also conceived as the institutional counterpart of power. It is far more economical to rule by means of authority than by means of coercion. The holder of authority very often depends on specialized agencies for its exercise.

7.3.6. POWER AND AUTHORITY

A number of western political scientists have written against power partly as a reaction against the growth of totalitarian regimes in central Europe. Marriam's writings cover a wide range of ramifications of power. But the concept of power is not analysed by him. He fails to draw any distinction between power and authority. He uses the two terms synonymously. What is the difference between the two? Power differs from authority in the following respect. Power is an instrument of coercion and has a physical effect. Authority could be based on consent and yet be more effective. Many political and social institutions wied great authority though they are largely based on consent alone. The authority of a teacher, a priest, a journalist are social worker does not depends on power and yet they are respected and obeyed.

7.3.7. AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE

Robert A.Dahl considers authority as a special kind of influence "and highly efficient from of influence". when a leader's influence is clothed with legitimacy, it usually is called authority. Dahl contends that leaders in a political system try to convert their influence into authority. Max weber is exclusively concerned with legitimate governments and authority is more reliable and durable than naked coercion. It also enable a ruler to govern with a minimum of political resources.

7.4. INFLUENCE

The tern 'influence' is not precisely defined. Different writers have taken different views about influence. Words like power. authority, control and influence are common to an discipline. when we use terms like influence. Power etc., we assume that the others know what we mean. There is therefore, no agreement on terms and definitions of words like influence, power etc. Robert

A.Dahl simply calls these words 'influence-terms'. He uses these terms as if they are interchangeable. But some other writers warn us against the tendency of equating influence with other.-terms like power, force, authority etc. They say that power and authority are different things. Likewise authority and influence are dissimilar. Harold Lasswell likens power with influence. Bertrand Russell takes power as the capacity to influence the action of others. One man's power is another man's 'influence'. The main point of difference between power and influence is this. Power is coersive while influence is persuasive. Power requires submission: but we submit voluntarily to influence. Influence is antithesis to force. In short, influence represents the sublimation of power.

7.4.1. MANIFEST AND EXPLICIT INFLUENCE

Usually terms like influence, power, authority, etc. are used to refer to human relationship. But in political analysis these terms are restricted to relationship among human actors. One general type of human relationship is explicit influence. Suppose there are only two actors in a system, A and B. A influences B to the extent he changes B's actions some way. R.A.Dahl gives an illustration. Ordinarily the traffic has to move ahead. But the traffic constable orders all traffic to turn right or left. The traffic moves right or left rather than move forward. This may be called explicit or manifest influence, Explicit influence is, therefore outward, clearly revealed, visible and undoubted.

7.4.2. IMPLICIT OR POTENTIAL INFLUENCE

On the other hand implicit influence arises from anticipations. Implicit influence is not easy to detect. It is inward and it is not clearly revealed. One thing that distinguishes implicit influence from explicit influence is however, the 'rule of anticipated reactions'. This concept was first introduced by carl J.Fredrich in his 'Constitutional Government and Democracy' (1937). He used this 'rule to refer to a situation in which one actor, say, B. In this case A changes his behaviour even without receiving any explicit messages about B's wants or desires or intentions. This is implicit influence. If we concentrate on explicit influence alone then we will underestimate or entirely miss the influence of an important actor. For example, if we rely on foreign office only we will miss the

influence of parliament on the conduct of foreign affairs. Anticipations must be taken into account in order to know implicit influence.

7.4.3. DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL INFULENCE:

Political influence is distributed among the members in a political system. But it is not equally or heavily distributed. The amount of influence at that person exercises differs among persons, group of persons and system. Why is this so? Robert A.Dahl attributes this to "three fundamental explanatory factors".

1. **Differences in the distribution of political resources:**

He considers money, information, food, the threat of force, jobs, friendship, social standing, the right to make laws, votes and other similar things as political resources. A political resource is a means or an instrument. By this means one person can influence the behaviour of other persons. Only a few possess this resource.

2. **Variation in the skill or efficiency:**

Differences in influence depend on the use of the skill and efficiency. Individuals use their political resources depending on their skill and efficiency. People differ in their endowments, opportunities, incentives to learn and practice political skills.

3. **Use of resources of political purposes:**

One may use wealth to win election and the other to achieve in business. These variations can be due to motivations and individual preferences.

4. **Political Influence and Prime Movers:**

In every political system some will be really influencial. They are the decision makers. They will decide matters of crucial importance. If fact, they will decide the destiny of the nation. They are called the ruling elite. RA.Dahl prefers to call them the "Prime Movers". It is easy to identity the prime movers in an isolated and small system. They will be 'autonomous' in relation to all other actors. Their number will be small. They can be easily identified and distinguished. They are 'the center of power', the ruling group' and 'the power

structure'. But in a big system it is almost impossible to discover the prime movers. Take for instance a government bureaucracy in a complex political system. Here low level officials are autonomous is relation to their subordinates. But in relation to their superiors they are subordinates. Even the superiors at the top may not be completely autonomous. A top military official, for instancer, may be influenced by the Defence Minister who is influenced by the Prime Minister and so on. This is known as the chain of causation extending indefinitely. Hence there is difficulty in identifying the prime movers in large and complex political system. Karl Marx's theory that the capitalist class is the prime movers is a 'theoretical postulate'. To say that 'the people are the prime mover in democracy is equally unconvincing, it not absurd.

7.4.4. FORMS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE

There are different forms of influence. They are to be distinguished. R.A.Dahl has shown how 4,000 different forms of influence could be defined. But to make distinctions on the basis of definition is not enough. Forms of influence that make a difference will have to be identified. Such distinctions will help us to understand influence in acomplex political system.

Elsewhere in this chapter a distinction was made between explicit and implicit influence A influences B in order to get favourable response to A's desires. B may or may not response to A's influence as A wants him to react. Suppose B responds as A expects, then it is positive influence. If B's response is not favourable to A's desires, then it is negative influence. Dahl gives an example for negative influence. Stalin attacked the Marshall plan. By attacking it Stalin helped the U.S.Congress to give its approval its approval to the plan. People are always interested in positive influence. But it is not easy to exert or to evoke positive influence all the time. This is because the boundaries of the forms of control are not clear. As a result both the influences mingle and merge together. At the present level of knowledge a clear-cut demarcation between positive and negative influence is not possible.

7.4.5. THE MEANS OF INFLUENCE:

The means of influence constitute another form of influence. A relationship of influence may depend upon a combination of different means. They are 1) Control, 2) Persuasion and 3) Inducement.

a) Control by training:

Influence through communication that consists of a signal or order is called control by training. It was assumed that trained control was a product of prior 'persuasion and inducements'. But now the importance of training has been increasingly realized. Now persuasion and inducements have become redundant. They may be some use in the initial period of training. Trained control is costly. But once the training is completed the costs are very low.

b) Persuasion

The advantages and disadvantages of the alternative courses of action are to be explained to the people. Influence by means of communication provides such information. This is called persuasion. In other words people are to be persuaded to consider the alternative courses of action and decide. Persuasion may be of two kinds: 1) Rational persuasion and 2) Manipulative persuasion. Rational persuasion is persuasion by rational communication. For example a doctor warns his patient that unless he gives up smoking he will run the risk of lung cancer. A lawyer advises his client not to go to a law court because his case is weak. If the client responds favourabley he can save his health or cost. So, rational persuasion can convince clients of the usefulness of alternatives. Manipulative persuasion refers deceptive or false communication. Correct understanding of the alternative is not given. People a.e treated as ends, not as means. Good ends do not justify bad means. Manipulative persuasion is morally bad.

Check your Progress Questions
4) What are the characteristics of Power
5) Explain the power theory
6) Write a note on political Authority
7) Describe forms of influence
8) Discuss the means of influence

c) Inducement:

It adds additional advantages to the alternatives. Even positive inducement may be good in some situations and bad in others. Suppose an employer offers his employees higher pay to not to go on strike. This is positive inducement indeed. Is it right on the part of the employer to offer higher wage as a means to avert strike?

Is it right on the part of the employee to accept it? A through analysis of the situation is necessary to answer these questions. Perhaps a socio-political perspective will enable one to arrive at a Judgement. Power, coercion and physical force are other kinds of inducements. All these depend on compulsion, punishment, force or use of force. Power is a form of influence. Coercion is a form of power. Physical force is involved in power and coercion. It is inefficient form of influence, clumsy and costly. Even a despot cannot rule by force alone. But physical force is employed when a policy based on the threat of force has failed. Control may be unilateral or one way or reciprocal or mutual. Suppose and M.L.A. continuously and successfully keeps his constituency fully informed of his achievements, he can influence his voters by rational persuasion to elect him at the next election. This is unilaterai control.

7.5. SUMMARY

This unit provides details to study Talcott parson's structural Functional analysis and also provides details account about Almond's structural – Functional analysis towards political science and also this unit describes political power, authority and influence it provides details account about theories of power, sources of power and authority. It also attempts to analyse the forms and means of political influence.

7.6. KEY WORDS

a) Interest articulation	–	Clear utterance
b) Interest aggregation	–	Collection, unit
c) Rule adjudication	–	Explanation of Law
d) Main fest	-	clear, Plain
e) Explicit	-	Open, Plain, out spoken
f) Persuasion	-	Power of inducement
g) Potential	-	Latent, hidden expressing possibility.

7.7 ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

1. For Question No:1 Reference Section No: 7.1.
2. For Question No: 2 Reference Section No: 7.2.1.
3. For Question No: 3 Reference Section No: 7.3

4. For Question No:4 Reference Section No: 7.4
5. For Question No: 5 Reference Section No: 7.3.6.
6. For Question No: 6 Reference Section No: 7.4.5

7.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. N.P. Barry Introduction to Modern Political Theory – London, Macmillan – 1955
2. R. Dhal, Modern Political Analysis, Engle wood Cliffs N.J. Prentice Hall, 1963
3. D. Easton A. System Analysis of Political Life Engle wood Cliffs N.S. Prentice Hall 1965

7.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Discuss indetail Almond's structural functional approach to the study of political science.
2. How does Almond spellout structural functionalism? What are its uses and limitations?
3. Define the term "Power" and describes its different kinds
4. Why do some people gain more power than others do?
5. Discuss the relation between power and authority
6. What is political influence and describe the forms of influence.

UNIT – 8

Space for Hints

GROUP THEORY – POLITICAL ELITES

INTRODUCTION

Group approach is gaining more importance in modern political analysis. This approach has been discussed by sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, economists, jurist and pluralists. But the Group Theory as it is understood today was evolved by Author Bentley. Bentley's contribution to this theory is really significant. He considered Group Approach as a tool of investigation. He laid stress on measurable uniformities and classifications. He underlines the processes instead of purposes of groups. Group is taken as a unit in analyzing any form of social life. Group Theory has now become the basis of political analysis. It is largely used in the analysis of legislative action.

OBJECTIVES

By Studying this unit the student

a) To study group approach in political analysis.

b) To know group conflict

c) To analyse government and group conflicts.

d) To analyse Para to views about political elites.

e) To study Mosca ideas about Political elities.

f) To analyse Michels views about political elites.

g)To study Gasset ideas about political elites.

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1. Group approach

8.1.1. Group as a Mass of activity

8.1.2. Concept of Interest

8.1.3. Group Conflict and equilibrating process

8.1.4. Group approach in Political analysis

8.2. Government and Group Conflicts.

8.2.1. Government and concept of access

8.2.2. Governments and Groups

8.2.3. Criticism

8.3. Pareto about Political elites.

8.3.1.Concept of circulation of elites.

8.3.2. Concept of residues

8.3.3. Types of governing elites.

8.3.4. Mosca about political elites.

8.4. The circulation of elites.

8.4.1. Concept of the sub-elites.

8.4.2 Political Formula

8.4. 3. Michels about political elites.

8.4.4. Concept of Mass mind.

8.4.5. Gasset about political elites.

8.4.6. Concept of mass revolt.

8.4.7. Role of elites indeveloping countries.

8.5. Summary

8.6. Key words.

8.7. Answer for CYPQ

8.8. Books for further Reading

8.9. Questions and Exercise.

8.1. GROUP APPROACH

Different approaches are possible for a study of politics. Group approach is one such approach. It proceeds on the assumption that political behaviour can best be defined in terms of group interaction. Bentley, the author of the Group theory, gave up the institutional approach to political analysis. Instead, he emphasized dynamics arid processes as characteristic activity of the State. Society comprises of actions, structures and values. These are important only when they are related to action. Bentley believed that ideas are to be translated in to action. Such an action will "always and invariably" be a group process. This means, society, nation and government are comprised of groups of men. Each group cuts across many others. Similarly, legislation, Politics and administration are a group process. Groups are in constant interaction with each other. People belong to groups as formal members. "Societal Values" can be realized only through groups. Group approach is now considered as an important line of modern political analysis.

8.1.1. GROUP AS A MASS OF ACTIVITY

Bentley conceives a group as a mass of activity. He defines group as "a certain portion of the men of a society, taken, however, not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but as a mass of activity". In this sense, a group is not a collection of individuals. Nor is it a static form. It is neither a coincidental collection nor a categoric group. A group is dynamic. Men who belong to one group can participate in the activities of other groups. A group is possible when the interactions among its members are relatively frequent, and significantly patterned to produce directional activity. In other words the activity of the group is more important than the structure of the group.

8.1.2. CONCEPT OF INTEREST

Bentley's concept of interest explains the force which give directions to group activity. Interest is a shared attitude. It is concerned with claims that one group makes on the other. A group is directed by interest. A social system consists of a large number of groups. Hence it is the arena for the interaction of group interests. In fact it is the interest that leads to the organization of groups. The effectiveness of a group depends upon the extent to which its interests find expression. On the basis of the outward expression interest groups may be divided into Existing Groups, Potential Groups, Latent Groups and Emerging Groups.

8.1.3. GROUP CONFLICT AND EQUILIBRATING PROCESS

Society consists of various groups. These groups complete with each other to realize or maximize their interest. The result is group conflict. In fact a society is kept going by "the push and resistance between groups". As a result, there will be perpetual conflict among groups in a society. The conflicts are to be resolved. The theory of the balancing of the group pressures" offers the solution. This is known as the Equilibrating process. Social equilibrium is an in built device Group conflicts are balanced by the following factors:

The Government provides necessary adjustment keeping every group within its limits. Ever competing group is interested in avoiding conflict and confrontation to the extent possible. Since person cn be a member of more than one group, their mutual interest will be protected. The opposition within a group will exercise restraining influence over the militant majority. The rules of the games or

the "habit background" of a group provides necessary balance wheel of adjustment and stability. In all groups, activities are brought closer and closer to each other and related to a particular political phenomenon. In short, there is an inherent balancing mechanism within a group and among the groups which ensures "automatic balance of Power" in a society.

8.1.4. GROUP APPROACH IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Bentley is concerned with the analysis of groups that come under the purview of politics. For him politics is rather a high level activity carried on largely by groups. These groups represent the underlying political forces in the society. Politics is identified with power. Political behaviour is the behaviour of groups in conflict. Political groups seek adjustment of their claims through the use of power.

8.2. GOVERNMENT AND GROUP CONFLICTS

It is pointed out earlier that government deals with groups and group conflict. Government plays the role of a mediator. In the struggle among groups, Government is the source of rules and restraint. It is the function of Government to establish order in the relationships among groups. Perpetual Struggle is going on among political interest groups. Government has to handle the on going struggle among groups. With this purpose in view, government provides necessary mechanisms and processes of adjustment. Government itself in comprised of groups with access to outside groups. It is possible that groups which struggle within Government can proceed within limits. In such a situation it will be difficult to distinguish between groups and group conflicts within government and those outside it.

8.2.1. GOVERNMENT AND CONCEPT OF ACCESS

Government consists of groups. Not only that, it provides a number of points of access to outside groups. It is a useful in-put in political system. By providing points of access to outside groups the Government is open to outside influence. Providing access is a healthy outlet. It is like a safety valve providing access to outside interest, influence and claims. It is a political necessity because it is a means to realize group goals and objectives. It provides linkages between groups and government agencies. It increases the effectiveness of a group and

enhances its organizational value and capacity. It facilitates contacts with formal legal agencies, strengthens the position and status of a group leader, increases the group capacity to influence the levels of power, serves as a connecting link between status and influence, and enables a well organized group to exercise its influence in political decision making process.

8.2.2. GOERNMENTS AND GROUPS

Bentley classifies groups into two categories 1) Formal legal groups and 2) Non-formal groups. The formal legal groups include legislatures, courts, councils etc. They are primarily concerned with the formal organization of a political system. They are mainly responsible to the public. These groups maintain an image. They have official characteristics. They hold a balance between competing groups. It is "officiality" that characterizes governmental dealing with outside groups. The Non formal groups on the other hand, are informal, non committal and irresponsible in the sense that they are not accountable to the public.

8.2.3. CRITICISM

The group theory has many defects and drawbacks. Key terms such as "group interest" "influence" etc are not clearly defined. The concept of equilibrating process is confusing. The concept of access is not clarified. The theory fails to explain everything in terms of action, pressure, force and tension concepts of ideas, feelings, law, justice, general will, general welfare etc are ignored. So also, the role of reason, knowledge and intelligence in governmental process is neglected. It is anti-individualist. The theory reduces everything to the working of groups. Problems of individual leadership the significance of role and status, sources of attitudes, opinions etc. are not dealt with. The assumption that there is no conflict between the individual and society is not born out by experience. The theory fails to explain as to who sets group goals.

The theory deals with a dynamic process; but systematic changes are not properly explained. Group theory many not be applicable to developing democratic countries. Group approach may lead to totalitarianism. The theory is born out of American experience. And so it is culture bound. American political system contains groups with cross – cutting relationships. Such groups seldom exist in other countries.

Check your progress Questions

1) What is group approach?
2) Write a note on groups a mass activity
3) Explain concept of interest?
4) Discuss Government and group conflicts.

THEORY OF POLITICAL ELITES

The theory of political elites originated in Europe. Renowned European thinkers like Vilified Pareto and Gactano Mosca, Roberto Michels and Ortega Y. Gasset discussed the relationship of the theory with fascism and democracy. They also applied the theory to ruling classes. Later the theory was wiely discussed by the social scientists in the U.S.A- American economists like JA. Schumpeter, political scientists like Harold D.Lasswell and sociologists like C. Wright Mills added much to the discussion of the theory. The despotic roots of the original theory as developed in central and western European countries were considerably watered down.

8.3. PARETO ABOUT POLITICAL ELITES

Vilfredo Pareto (1848 – 1923) an Italian, has expounded his version of the Theory of Elites in his four volume study 'the Mind and Society'. He was basically a sociologist and psychologist. His theory is based on the idea that every society consists of the classes or the selected few who have the right to rule, and the masses who are distained to be ruled. According to Pareto every society is ruled by a minority. It possesses qualities n necessary to capture political power. The best get on to the top. They are called the elite. Elite consists of persons who occupy the key positions in all walks of elite. In that sense, there can be an elite of lawyers: an elite of doctors, an elite of engineers, a political elite and so on. Pareto also believes that the elites hail form the same strata of society. There are two categories of elites in a society. They are a higher stratum consisting of a governing elite and a non governing elite, and a lower stratum consisting of the non-elites. Pareto's main concern is about the political or governing elite. Though the governing elite rules by a mixture of force and cunning, Pareto attaches more importance to the former i.e. force.

8.3.1. CONCEPT OF CIRCULATION OF ELITES

The concept of the circulation of elites is one the distinct contributions of Pareto to modern political analysis. He says that in every society individuals and elites move from lower levels to higher levels and vice versa. Their movement is continuous. Hence the political elite can never be static or permanent. As a result

of this movement is continuous. Hence the political elite can never be static or permanent. As a result of this movement every elite group ceases to exist in course of time. The dissolution of the elite group makes the social equilibrium unstable. There can be various kinds of circulation among the elites. Pareto mentions two major categories of circulation, namely circulation between the elite and the rest of the population. The second category of circulation may involve individuals from the lower strata entering into the existing elite groups and individuals in the lower strata forming new elite groups and challenge the existing elite. Circulation of elites is taking place from time to time. It is necessary for maintaining social equilibrium.

8.3.2. CONCEPT OF RESIDUES:

What gives rise to the circulation of elites? What leads to the degeneration and dissolution of elites? What causes social disequilibrium? Pareto's concept of residues provides answer to these questions. The concept answers these questions in terms of changes taking place in the psychological characteristics of the different categories of elites. The concept is based on the distinction between the logical and non-logical actions of individuals in social life. Logical actions refer to actions directed to attainable ends by applying appropriate means. Non-logical actions refer to actions which are not directed to any purpose. The term 'residues' refers to qualities that are responsible for a person to rise in elite and reach the top position. It is with the help of residues the governing elite tries to perpetuate itself in power.

8.3.3 TYPES OF GOVERNING ELITES

Governing elite may be divided into two types on the basis of residues. There are two major kinds of residues known as the residue of combinations and the residue of the persistence of aggregates. The first residue means cunning. The second residue means force. One type of governing elite may rule by cunningness. The other type may rule by force. Pareto describes those who rule by cunning as speculators and those who rule by force as rentiers. The governing elite justifies its use of power through derivations. Derivations are myths. Myths are created to deceive the masses into submission. Derivations provide a logical cover to the

actions of the elites. The speculators and the renters are therefore, the two types of governing elites.

8.3.4. MOSCA ABOUT POLITICAL ELITES.

Gaetano Mosca (1858 – 1943) was essentially a political scientist. He was also an Italian. He further developed the theory of political elites in his "The ruling class" (1939). Mosca repudiates Aristotle's classification of governments into Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. Instead, he asserts that oligarchy is the only form of government'. In all societies, he generalizes, there are two classes of people. One class rules and the other is ruled. The ruling class is less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolises power and enjoys the advantages that power brings to them. The subject class, on the contrary is more numerous, deprived of political power, and directed and controlled by the ruling class legally, arbitrarily and violently. For the ruling class has the appetite to command and to exercise political control. This two-fold division of classes is applicable to all kinds of societies – developed, developing and under-developed.

8.4. THE CIRCULATION OF ELITES:

Like Pareto, Mosca also believes in the theory of the circulation of elites. The ruling elite survives because it has the aptitude to command and to exercise political control. But the ruling elite can be deposed and replaced by a new one. This will happen when the old ruling class losses the aptitude to command, or when the people outside the ruling class form themselves into ruling elite. It may also happen when the ruling elite is not able to provide the necessary services to the masses, and when the services provided are no longer regarded as valuable. Evolution of a new religion and some similar changes in social forces may also change the ruling elite. Mosca also considers the psychological and sociological reasons for the circulation of elites. Whenever new interests and ideas are formulated and new problems arise the process of circulation of elites is accelerated. Like Pareto, he is not critical of idealism and humanitarianism. But unlike him Mosca believe in change of elite through persuasion. Mosca is for bringing about gradual alterations in the political system in accordance with changes in the public opinion.

8.4.1. CONCEPT OF THE SUB-ELITE

Mosca further develops the theory of political elite by introducing the concept of the sub-elite. The sub-elite is composed of the whole new middle class of civil servants, managers of industries, scientists and scholars. Mosca treats the sub-elite as a vital element in the governance of society. The sub-elite is the second-stratum of the ruling elite. The stability of any political organization, asserts Mosca, depends on the level of morality, intelligence and activity of the sub-elite.

8.4.2. POLITICAL FORMULA

In every society the ruling elite tries to find a moral and legal basis for survival. Such a basis is provided by the political formula. Mosca uses the terms political formula to a set of doctrines and beliefs propagated by the ruling elite formulates the political formula for its own interest. Mosca's political formula is like Pareto's 'derivations'. But both are not exactly similar. Mosca differs from pareto when he asserts that apart from legal justification, moral consideration also satisfies a social need. It satisfies a deeply felt human need that man should be governed on the basis of some moral principles. Man cannot be ruled by physical force alone. Therefore, the political formula or the myth should not be used by the ruling elite to dupe the masses into submission. It is an instrument of moral cohesion.. In short, Mosca underlines the need for moral basis of behaviour of political elites.

8.4. 3.MICHELS ABOUT POLITICAL ELITE

Roberto Mchest (1875 – 1939) a Swiss German, has expounded his theory of political elite in his "political parties-A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern Democracy" Michel's theory of the political elite is known as the Iron law of Oligarchy. He considers it as one of the iron laws of history. His theory is based on the primary factor of organization. He equates organization with oligarchy. Michel's defines oligarchy as "a preordained form of a common life of great social aggregates". In other words, the minority of the people are 'preordained' to live under 'eternal tutelage' of the ruling elite. The domination of minority over majority is inevitable. This is because the minority provides leadership. A leader becomes important as the movement or party grows in size.

As the party grows in size its members become less effective. To that extent their leader will become more effective. The leader then will capture power and cling to it. He becomes almost irremovable. This is the on law of oligarchy.

8.4.4. CONCEPT OF MASS MIND

Michels reinforces his Iron law of Oligarchy by his concept of the mass mind. The mass is always apathetic, indolent and slavish. The majority of people are permanently incapable of self government. They are susceptible to flattery. They are obsequious or servile in the presence of strength. Political elites easily exploit these weaknesses of the mass mind for their own advantage. To achieve this they employ oratory, persuasion, playing upon sentiments etc. The gullible public is hookwinked by all kinds of trickery.

8.4.5. GASSET ABOUT POLITICAL ELITES:

Ortega Y. Gasset (1883 – 1995), a spainiard, has elaborated his theory of the political elite in his the revolt of the Masses (1932). His approach is called the Theory of the Masses. He lays emphasis on the masses. The masses are variously called as the people, the public, the crowds etc. Anation's greatness, asserts Gasset, depends on the capacity of its masses. The mass majority finds their "symbol" in certain chosen people who provide leadership. The chosen people or the elite are outstanding. The masses are not chosen and outstanding. Therefore the mass accepts the leadership of the chosen and outstanding. Therefore the mass accepts the leadership of the chosen few. The ruling elite is effective because of the social energies deposited in them by the masses and not because of individual abilities.

Check your Progress Questions

5. Explain pareto views about political elites
6) Discuss Mosca ideas about Politcal elites
7) Write a note on Michels Opinion about political elites
8. Analyse Gasset view about Political elites.

8.4.6. CONCEPT OF MASS REVOLT

Gasset does not believe that the servility of the masses is preordained as Michels would like us to believe. The masses may not have the capacity to lead, but it has the capacity to revolt. The masses revolt when the political elite becomes corrupt and inefficient. The society will collapse when a collective mass refuses to accept" to influx of a minority". The nation declined when the masses could dispense with the political elite. When a nation declines the masses become disillusioned. So they will turn to new leadership. The result is the emergence of a

new ruling elite. In short, the masses rise in revolt in order to change the ruling elite and not to abolish it.

8.4.7. ROLE OF ELITES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

As the developed countries the elites play an important part in developing countries also. They are responsible for bringing about political development, economic progress and social justice. The elites in the developing countries are often described as intellectuals. The intellectuals include writers, artists, scientists and social workers. They constitute a conspicuous minority. The elites in developing countries generally belong to the following types: Dynastic elite, the colonial Administrators and the Nationalist leaders, the middle class and the revolutionary intellectuals. The dynastic elite and the colonial administration play a limited role. They will create the 'environment' by providing effective administration and judiciary, introducing modern education, promoting banking and commerce, setting up of some industries and so on. The middle class consists of public servants, salaried employees, and members of learned professions. They play a somewhat larger roles. The nationalist leaders are often the products of western education. They often come from traditional background. Often they are found to be reactionaries. Revolutionary intellectuals are usually influenced by Marxist doctrines. Most of the them belong to non-governing elites or counter-elites. Very seldom they are found with the ruling elite, particularly in non-communist countries.

8.5. SUMMARY

This unit provides details to understand group theory, group conflict and group approach in political analysis. It also attempts to analyse concept of interest, and concept of access in political analysis and also This unit altempts to study pareto, Mosca, Michals and Gasset views about political elites towards political analysis

8.6. KEYWORDS

a) Conflict	-	difference of opinion
b) Access	-	Way of coming to
c) Perpetual	-	everlasting

d) Totalitarian	-	relating to a state having only one powerful Political party under one head
e) Elote	-	the best of the people.
f) Residues	-	What's left sediment
g) Oligarchy	-	government by a powerful few.

8.7. ANSWER FOR CYP QUESTIONS

For Question No: 1 Reference Section No: 8.1

For Question No: 2 Reference Section No: 8.1.1

For Question No:3 Reference Section No : 8.1.2

For Question No: 4 Reference Section No: 8.2.1

For Question No: 5 Reference Section No: 8.3

For Question No: 6 Reference Section No: 8.3.4

For Question No:7 Reference Section No: 8.4.3

For Question No: 8 Reference Section No: 8.4.5

8.8. BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. R. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs N.J. Pretice Hall, 1963
2. S.P. Varma, Modern Political Theory New Delhi, Vikas, 1983
3. H.J. Laski, A. Grammar of Politics, London, Allen and Unwing 1948

8.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES:

1. Define, Group approach. Explain the significant features of group theory.
2. Summarise Bentley's contribution to group approach.
3. Describe the origin of the theory of elites? Bring out its different categories.
4. Discuss Gasset ideas

UNIT - 9
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION THEORY
GAME THEORY

INTRODUCTION

The political communication theory is relatively recent and fast – moving development in the field of scientific analysis. It leans heavily on the fundamental orientations of cybernetics i.e. the science of control and communication system. It has received a great impetus from the developments that took place after second world war, relating to the revolution in the sphere of engineering and technology. True to its tradition in the realm of contemporary political science committed to the idea of borrowing perspectives and frames of references extensively from other branches of knowledge, a good number of writers, Karl W.Deutseh, in particular, have developed a new approach in the discipline of comparative politics whereby the analysis of political phenomenon is made on the basis of communication and cybernetics approach. The game theory owes it origin to Emil Borel. When he developed his theory in the 1920s, it was regarded as an intellectual exercise. The theory gained importance when John Van Neuman, a mathematician, developed it to study the behaviou of the economic man. The Game theory became popular soon after the publication of the book "Theory of games and Economic Behaviours" jointly written by John Van Neuman and Okar Morgenstern (1944). Howard Raiffa and Martin Shubak introduced the Game theory to political science. Anatole Rappot, Morton A.Kaplan, William H-Riker and Thomas C.Schelling were the ardent advocates of the Game theory. They used the theory more in the field of coalition behaviour, judicial behaviour and conflict situations in international situations. Game theory is mostly used in the study of international politics and diplomacy.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the students.

a) To study the meaning and nature of political communication theory.

b) To analyse Karl W.Deutsh's views on political communication theory.

c) To study the origin and types game theory.

d) To analyse Kaplan model of game theory.

e) To learn Ricker model of game theory.

f) To understand schelling model of game theory.

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1. Meaning and nature of political communication

9.2. Karl W.Deutsch and communication theory.

9.3. Evolution of game theory.

9.4. Characteristics of game theory.

9.5. Types of game theory

9.6. Application of game theory

9.7. Riker Model of game theory

9.7.1. The schelling model of game theory

9.7.2. criticism of game theory.

9.8. Summary

9.9. Key words.

9.10. Answer for CYP Questions.

9.11. Books for futher reading.

9.12. Questions and Exercises.

9.1. MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Political communication is a body of thought that seeks to explain the process of information sending, receiving, storing and utilization as they relate to a political system. Communication is the means by which a political system receives and acts upon inputs and develops outputs. The system receives 'information' that is analysed and reacted to. The changing environment continually produces new demands which are communicated to the system and which determine the 'load' that challenges the efficiency of the system. The time interval between received by the system is changed or misinterpreted before it can be acted upon while 'gain' measures the effective action in terms of changes wrought as a result of communication received. Information concerning the effectiveness of system output on the environment is termed as 'feedback' and the extend to which the

sytem is able to adjust to feedback information helps to determine the effectiveness as a political system. Information communicated to the system is stored in the social system. Information communicated to the system is stored so that it may be used in making future decision. Communication theory also relates to the ways in which attitudes and images are built up in the minds of decision makers and the way they affect perception, values, goal-seeking and decision-making.

9.2. KARL W.DEUTSCH AND COMMUNICATION THEORY

Many of the operations of computers are analogous to the decision making processes of politics. He points out that an analysis of the political system from the point or view of cybernetics would be useful to understand the entire political processes. The concepts elaborated by him in his "The nerves of Government" form the model of his communication theory which gives us a fairly good picture of the decision making process of politics.

Winner used the word "cybernetics" which he derived from the Greek word "Kubernetes" or "Steerman" the same word from which the word "governor" is derived. This is perhaps in keeping with the cybernetics model, which attaches more importance to the process of steering to a coordination than to destruction. Deutsch views politics as the co-ordination of human activity for the fulfillment of social goal. For him, power is neither the center nor the essence of politics. Power in his opinion, is one of the currencies of politics, a means of having actions performed to maintain stability or attain a goal. Other political currencies are influence, force, voluntary co-ordination or trading favours. None of these currencies can define politics because they constitute alternative means to fulfilling the essence of politics.

Deutsch has derived his idea of politics from cybernetics. He believes that information must precede compulsion. That is to say that before a command can be given or an action can be compelled the commander must know how to transmit his message to the subordinates and have it understood. Further no action can be argues that information must precede compliance. That is to say that on cannot follow an order that he neither received nor understands. It is on these grounds

that Deutsch insists that political theorists should seek to understand the co-ordination of human activity rather than who gets what, when and how.

Deutsch's guiding questions for political analysis flow from his definition of politics as the co-ordination of human efforts and expectations for the attainments of the goals of the societh. From the concepts of cybernetics he derives the following four questions.

(1) What is 'load' upon political decision system of the state? (Load refers to the extent and speed of changes in the position of the target in relation to goal seeking) In other words, what is the amount and rate of change with which the government must cope?

(2) What is 'Lag' in the response of a government to a new emergency or challenge? (Lag refers to the slowness in the response of the system to information regarding consequences of decisions or actions)

(3) What is gain of the response? (gain refers to the speed and size of the reaction of a political system to new data it has accepted)

(4) What is the amount of Load? (Load refers to the capability of a government to predict and to anticipate new problems effectively)

All the four questions can be summarized into one query: How does the political system effect the co-ordination of human activity for the attainment of social goods in a world of change and emerging problems? It is in terms of such a question the Deutsch organizes his fundamental concepts.

Deutsch's basic concept is self-modifying communicating network or learning net. A learning net is "any system characterized by a relevant degree of organization, communication and control regardless of the particular processes by which its messages are transmitted and its functions carried out whether by words between individuals in a social organization or by nerve cells and hormones in a living body, or by electric signals in an electronic device". It may be machines,

organisms, human beings or social organizations. All these units pursue their goals. Thus politics is a goal seeking process that depends upon adequate response to feed-back. This goal seeking process (politics) is distinct from the mechanical processes in the following four ways:

(a) The goal sought is outside the goal seeking system.
(b) The system itself is not isolated firm its environment but depends on information from the environment and from itself for effectives in goal attainment.
(c) The goal may change.
(d) The goal may be attained in various ways. (Strategy and tactics form the important ways. A successful learning net is likely to be flexible in tactics and relatively stable in strategy)

The learning nets have the following three basic element.

1. Receptors which collect information from the environment
2. Effectors which execute decisions and
3. Feedback controls which inform the system of the consequences of the decisions for goal attainment.

Receptors, effecters and feedback controls provide the learning nets with autonomy. Autonomy of the learning net indicates their ability to change their goals or reset their feed backs by interactions with information from their past stored in particular memory devices. The autonomous system must receive three types of information. First they must receive information about their environments so that they can react to disturbances and take advantage of opportunities.

Second, they must receive information from their pasts so that they can maintain their integrities.

Third, they must receive information about themselves and their pasts so that they can maintain integration.

The learning nets should be able to recombine goals and even create new ones in response to opportunities and dangers in the environment. Thus the central problem of a learning net is to steer a course between two poles of destruction (between self destruction through screening out information from the environment

and self dissolution through screening out information from the past). From the control dilemma of a learning net he derives a set of subsidiary political dilemmas. He gives the principle that every self governing system must remake its own memories and inner structure as it acts and lists out five ways in which the system can fail. They are:

(i) A decision can fail through loss of power is the system's inability to mobilize the resources and energies necessary for attaining goals.

(ii) A system can fail through loss of intake (The system's inability to gather the information necessary for attaining goals).

(iii) The system can fail through loss of steering – capacity (The system's inability to integrate information into a policy and the policy into action)

(iv) A system can fail through loss of depth of memory (System's inability to mobilize the lessons of past experience in its efforts to steer a course towards goals)

(v) A system can fail through loss of capacity for inner rearrangement of structure or comprehensive rearrangement of inner structure (the system is so inflexible that it is unable to change the decision making procedures in response to environmental disturbances)

These modes of system failure are related to the three basic elements of learning nets-receptor, effectors and feed back controls. Loss of power and loss of steering capacity define the failure of effectors. Loss of intake and loss of depth of memory define the failure of receptors. Loss of capacity for partial or comprehensive inner rearrangement of structure define the failure of feedback controls.

The modes of system failure is also closely connected to the central dilemma of a learning net that is, steering a course between self-destruction through screening out information from the environment and self dissolution through screening out information format. In effect when systems fail they have destroyed the tension between the two poles of dilemma and have eliminated one type of information.

The mode of system failure is are related to the traditional concept of sin. Loss of Power corresponds to the sin of overvaluing the present over the future. Loss of intake corresponds to the sin of overvaluing memories over current experiences. Loss of steering capacity corresponds to the sin of overvaluing structure over function.

Loss of depth of memory corresponds to the sin of overvaluing established routines for recalling and recombining data over new ways of exploiting the stock of past experiences. Loss of capacities for partial Inner rearrangement of structure or comprehensive rearrangement of inner structure corresponds to the sin of overvaluing specific commitments over the realization of long term goals.

According to Deustsch, there are two types of orientations in every human organizations.

1. The activity involved with fulfilling the goal that provides the organization with its reason for existence.
2. The activity involved with maintaining the organization in such condition that it is able to steer a course towards attaining the stipulated goals. System failure and sin occur when the orientation takes precedence over the orientation comprising activities involved with attaining stipulated goals. Here he suggests that we should approach politics guided by the concept of grace. His concept of grace is the treatment of the world beyond self or beyond any particular organization as the potential source of aids or resources in goal setting and learning becomes particularly important. He identifies three attitudes of grace. They are :

(1) The individual or official should realize that all routines will eventually become insufficient for the preservation of autonomy.

(2) The individual or official should recognize that the universe contains essential data for the solution of problems involved in goal attainment, which has not yet been discovered.

(3) The individual of official should become receptive of new experience and be prepared to commit the structures of his personality and his organizations to significant change when the experiences warrant such a course.

Check your progress questions

1. Explain meaning and nature of political communication.

2. Write a note karl W.Deutsch's. views on communication theory.

GAME THEORY

The game theory owes it origin to Emil Borel. When he developed his theory in the 1920s, it was regarded as an intellectual exercise. The theory gained importance when John Van Neuman, a mathematician, developed it to study the behaviou of the economic man. The Game theory became popular soon after the publication of the book "Theory of games and Economic Behaviours" jointly written by John Van Neuman and Okar Morgenstern (1944). Howard Raiffa and Martin Shubak introduced the Game theory to political science. Anatole Rappot, Morton A.Kaplan, William H-Riker and Thomas C.Schelling were the ardent advocates of the Game theory. They used the theory more in the field of coalition behaviour, judicial behaviour and conflict situations in international situations. Game theory is mostly used in the study of international politics and diplomacy.

9.3. EVOLUTION OF GAME THEORY

The Game theory was evolved out of the principles of parlour games like chess, chicken, poker or bridge. Parlour games involve elements of conflict with two or more players. Decisions of each player depend on the decisions of other players and the interdependence of the players. In these games each player is interested in winning the game. To win the game it is necessary to have some knowledge of the choices available. The participant should have an idea of the preferences the other players have in the choices. Each choice depends on the choices made by other players. Game theory is based on these principles. In the words of T.C. Schelling, Game theory is the 'the formal study of the rationally consistent expectations that participants can have about each others' choices". The theory assumes that each party to the game is wise, the rules of the game will be observed and each player is a rational entity.

9.4. CHARACTERISTICS OF GAME THEORY

Game theory has the following characteristics: The Players are the decision makers. They would be individuals or institutions. The rules of the game should be observed. The rules describe how the resources must be utilized. They are laid down by those who are powerful enough to apply them. Players engage themselves in choosing alternatives, Selecting familiar with alternatives, which

will enable the players to tackle "future state of affairs". The future range of outcomes is defined as "prospects". Players play for rewards. The reward is described in the Game theory as "pay-off". Winning may be a big pay-off; draw the second best and loosing the third best. Players adopt suitable strategies to maximize their pay offs. Strategy is based on the following assumptions: a) the player is rational, b) he can design a fool-proof strategy c) he is fully aware of priorities, d) he has complete knowledge about the strategies and e) the player is invariably engaged in maximizing his pay-off.

9.5. TYPES OF GAME THEORY

There are several types of Game theory. They may be classified into the following four categories.

Zero-sum Two person Game:

It is based on the principle that one player's gain is another player's loss. It is a game of strategic opposition. It is of strictly competitive nature. The participants are opponents. Hence reasoning cooperation or bargaining brings no pay-off.

Zero-sum n person Game:

These games involve two or more persons in the contest. The players may store the pay-off in some way. Some principle of distribution is followed. There is no possibility of coalition in these games.

Non-Zero-Sum n person game:

There can be three or more players in this game. They can cooperate against others by pooling their sources or making collective decisions during the play. Coalitions may be formed. Such coalition will reduce the number of opponents. A coalition is formed on the basis of mutual give and take. Coalition is a game within a game. A game of this kind is often seen in the formation of coalition governments in a decocratic system.

9.6. APPLICATION OF GAME THEORY

Game theory has been extensively used in international politics and world diplomacy. As applied in international politics the theory has acquired two major aspects. To illustrate let us take the term 'Coalition". Mthematically it means fusion of two matrics. Empirically it means agreement between two players. The general principle is however, that one should always begin with the formal model and then to determine the precise meaning of terms. Kaplan, Riker and Schelling have attempted to apply the Game theory in the field of international politics.

The Kaplan model of game theory

Marton Kaplan has analysed the Game theory in his "System and process in International Politics" (1957). He describes games analysis as "the best tool available for the analysis of problems of strategy". Kaplan has applied the game model to the better understanding of international politics. He believes that Game theory, if properly used, will increase the chance of success in foreign policy. In his book Kaplan deals with "Strategy and statecraft" and discusses the empirical decision making process. He suggest the ways by which policy makers may use their knowledge to some purpose.

Kaplan's model is, however inadequate. He does not deal with problems of application, His analysis is a technical discussion, His statements are generalizations. They are not results of empirical research. Eugene Meehan feels that Kaplan's model cannot be justified at present. Anatole Rapport says that real problems are exceptionally difficult to handle within the game matrix. The concept of rationality does not seem to work satisfactorily in politics. Kaplan's model leaves socialization process out of consideration. The assumptions behind Kaplan's analysis are difficult to satisfy.

9.7. THE RIKER MODEL OF GAME THEORY

William H.Riker has discussed his model of Game theory in his The Theory of Political Coalitions (1962). He confines his analysis to the study of coalition. His model assumes rational players, perfect information and bargaining among, the players or side payments. Riker has slightly modified the concept of

rationality to suit his analysis. His primary objective is to find out the general priniciples that govern the formation of coalitions.

Riker has developed three major principles from the game theory. They are the size principle, the strategic principle and the Equilibrium principle. The size principle states that attempts to form a coalition are not aimed at merely enlarging itself. The size of the coalition depends on the capacity of the decision makers. It will be as large as to ensure winning chances. It also depends on the information available regarding the various principles of the coalition. In other words, the size of the coalition depends on the adequacy of the information available. The strategic principle deals with how the proto-coalitions are converted into coalitions. Coalitions invariably begin as "proto-coalitions" and than develop through the acquisition of members. The second principle is concerned with the conversion of a proto-coalition into a winning coalition. The Equilibrium principle is concerned with the stability of coalitions. Stability need not depend upon the rationality behind coalitions. Riker says that the elements of disequilibrium and instability are ingrained in colition formations. In this connection Riker analyses the sources of disequilibriam, means of maintaining equilibrium, and the exogenous and indigenous factors that influence them. Riker comes to the conclusion that miscalculation of leaders themselves, their over spending of resources, and their restless search for power are responsible for the fall of leaders, men, nations and coalitions alike.

9.7.1. THE SCHELLING MODEL OF GAME THEORY

Thomas C.Schelling has elaborated his model of Game theory in his "The Strategy of Conflict" (1966), Schelling is an outstanding political scientist. His application of the Game in international politics is more effective than the other two models. He is primarily concerned with the study of conflict. The actors are always engaged in basing their rational decisions on the choices that other people make. Schelling, therefore, thinks that applying Game theory in the rational decisions of actors will be ac tageous. He is more concerned about the utility of the model.

To increase the utility of his model Schelling has improved the concepts of the typology of games, the typology of moves and the foundations of strategic thinking, The typology of games is concerned with prior conflict games. In international politics pure conflict or pure coordination is not possible. International relationship is a mixture of certain degree of conflict and a certain amount of mutual dependence. To explain this realistic situation Schelling has introduced the concept of "mixed motive games" or "bargaining games", A mixed motive game is basically different from a pure conflict or pure cooperation game.

The typology of moves differs from the formal and abstract typology of conventional game analysis. Schelling takes the psychological aspects of the choice into consideration. He recognizes the fact that man is more than a rational creature. He, therefore, makes use of psychology for a study of the typology of moves. Common terms like 'giving promises', 'making threats', 'identifying enemies and friends' are incorporated by Schelling into his concept of moves.

The foundations of strategic thinking helps us to understand the mixed motive game. Schelling brings about certain changes in the traditional foundations of strategic thinking. The choice of strategy is defined by empirical considerations. Schelling has successfully weaved the patterns of thought lying behind Game theory into his own model of strategic thinking. By this adition, Game theory is considerably enriched. Schelling's contribution to the understanding of the problems of strategy in international conflict is indeed commendable.

9.7.2. CRLTICISM

Game theory is criticized on the following grounds. Game theory does not give any new basic information about international politics. It does not deal with such importance problems like scientific inventions, technological advancements, contemporary philosophical trends, population etc. and their impact on international politics. It is easier to understand international politics in terms of cultural and sociological stresses and strains rather than through game theory. Its assumptions are faulty. In politics it is not wisdom alone that counts. The teory places more stress on terminologies rather than on the facts of life and international politics. It does not help us to understand the priorities of a nation in global

> **Check your progress questions**
>
> 3. Mention the evolution of game theory.
>
> 4. Explain the characteristics of game theory.
>
> 5. Discuss various types of game theory
>
> 6. Write a note on Kaplan model.
>
> 7. Discribe the Riker model of game theory.
>
> 8. Explain briefly the schelling model of game theory.

politics. It underestimates the importance of wars in international politics. It has nothing to say about the role of cold war in world diplomacy. In practice, decision makers are not perfectly moral or rational nor do they have perfect information. The theory is concerned with ultimate outcomes and not with international processes. The player is interested only with the outcome of the choice. Motives and attitudes are kept out of consideration. It is difficult to identity the field or area to which the theory is related. There is no common understanding among the proponents of the Game theory. There is no united framework of analysis. This has led to an "endless but fruitless controversy". The theory depends on man's rational behaviours. Therefore it cannot be useful in empirical research. Rational behaviour seldom exists in real life.

9.8. SUMMARY

This unit dealt with the meaning and Nature of political communication. It also attempts to analyse karl W.Deutsch views on political communication theory in political analysis. This units also provides details to know about game theory and it's important towards political analysis.

9.9. KEY WORDS

a – cybernetics	– a branch of science of communication.
b – Feedback	– self regulating system
c – strategy	– artifice – taetics
e – Coalition	– act of uniting
f – Assumptions	– supposition
g – Equilibrium	– balanced state
h – Bargaining	– haggle, agreement as to price

9.10. Answer for CYP Questions

For Question No 1	reference section No. 1.1
For Question No 2	reference section No. 1.2
For Question No 3	Reference section No 1.1
For Question No 4	Reference section No 1.2
For Question No 5	Reference section No 1.3
For Question No 6	Reference section No 1.4

For Question No 7 Reference section No 1.5

For Question No 8 Reference section No 1.5.1

9.11. Books for further Reading:

1. A Brecht, political theory. The foundations of twentieth century political thought, Bombay, the times of India press 1965
2. D.Easton, A systems analysis of political life Englewood clilts N.S Prentice Hall 1965.
3. D.Held, Political Theory today, Cambridge – press 1991.

9.12. Questions and Exercises.

1. What is cybernatics or simulation approach.
2. Critically examine the contribution of Karl Deutsch to communication theory.
3. Discuss evolution of game theory
4. What are its important characterstics?
5. Describe the use of game theory with special reference to its application. by Kaplan, Riker, and Schelling.

UNIT – 10
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNISATION

INTRODUCTION

The concept of Political Development that was spoken about first by statesmen and policy makers and then by economist and sociologists occupies an important place in Political Sociology. What prompted the modern political scientists, especially those belonging to the U.S. to focus their attention on this concept is the emergence of a large number of independent nation-states in the Afro-Asian regions and Latin Americal after the World War II. The new generation of political scientists came to realize that non-western societies could be successfully studied by them only against their socio-economic, cultural background. The result is that a new approach to study these societies was so expanded so as to include besides the analysis of political institutions and structures, a wide of range of ecological forces.

A host of social theorists contributed to the concept of political Development. A theoretical support to the concept was provided by Malinowski, Redcliff Brown, Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy. This was supplemented by another galaxy of writers who made an inter disciplinary study of the concept. The name of Lucian Pye, G.A.Almond, J.S. Coleman Apter, Lasswell, Lerner, W.W.Rostow, Lipset, etc., are prominent in this connection. They made vast empirical studies of the new nations from economic, social, political, psychological and anthropological stand points in order to describe the process of change that has taken place in those countries.

Lucian Pye may be regarded as the leading light of the earlier batch of writers to analyse the concept of development and has left an abiding impression on the entire literature of Political Development. Pye virtually set the pace in 1953 when he thought of political development in terms of cultural diffusion of adoption, fusion and adjustment of old patterns of life to new demands. According to him, the first step towards political development could be traced at three

different levels-at the level of population, at the level of government and systematic performance and at the level of organization of policy.

Modernisation is the current term for an old process – the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. It is a process based upon the rational utilization of the resources and is aimed at the establishment of a modern society. In other words, modernization stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the change in social and physical environments.

OBJECTIVES

By studying this unit the student

a) To undetstand meaning and nature of political development.

b) To study the characteristics of Pye's political Development.

c) To analyse political Development – Problems and crises

d) To study theories of political development.

e) To know political development and dimensions of Modernization.

f) To study the pattern of Modernization

UNIT STRUCTURE

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10.2. Pye chacteristics of Political development

10.3. Political Development –Problems and crises.

10.4. Theories of political Development

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10.1.5. Role of political socialization in political Development.

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10.1. MEANING OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The term "Political Development" lacks a precise and standard definition. Pye in his Aspects of Political Development discusses the various definitions given to the term, accepts some parts and rejects some other parts in each definition and finally he gives his own interpretations of the term. The following are the various definitions of the term.

1. Political Development as pre-requisite of Economic Development
2. Political Development as typical of Industrial Societies.
3. Political Development as Political Modernisation.
4. Political Developmnet as the operation of Nation state.
5. Political Development as Administrative and Legal development
6. Political development as mass Mobilisation and participation
7. Political development as the building of Democracy.
8. Political Development as Stability and orderly change.
9. Political Development as Mobilisation and power
10. Political Development as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of change.

Finally, social theorist like Max F.Millikan and Daniel Lerner hold the view that political development is not an isolated happening. It cannot be isolated from social and economic factors. A sustained political development can take place only within this context of a multidimensional process of social change in which segments of the society are equally or materially affected. In this way, political development is just one aspect of a bigger multidimensional process of change. Pye appreciates this view on the plea that here all forms of development

are related, development is much the same as modernization and it takes place within the context in which extra-social influences and changes within the society impinge on each other.

The above survey of various points proves that there is a great degree of confusion as regards the agreed definition of the concept of political development. Pye tries to solve this confusion by identifying elements which are common to all the views discussed above. His view of political development bears three characteristics – Equality, Capacity and Differentiation.

10.2. CHACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Equality:

Political development does involve mass participation and popular involvement in political activities. Participation may be either democratic or a form of totalitarian mobilization but the key consideration is that subject should become active citizens, but laws should be of universalistic nature, applicable to all and impersonal in their operation and that recruitment to political offices should be on the achievement standads of performance and not on the ascriptive considerations.

2. Capacity:

It refers to the capacity of the political system to give political output, governmental performance, effectiveness and efficiency and rationality in administration which means governmental actions must be justiciable in terms of the ends and means.

3. Differentiation:

It implies specialization of structures with corresponding division of labour. It also involves integration of complex structures and processes.

Pye feels that there may be the problem of reconciling these three elements of political development. Tensions are likely to develop between the demands for equality the requirements for capacity and the process of greater differentiation. Thus, the pressure for greater equality can challenge the capacity of the system and differentiation. Thus, the pressure forgreater equality can challenge the capacity of

the system and differentiation can reduce the importance of equality. A study of political development in the wider perspective shows that while equality is related to political culture and capacity to the authoritative structures of government, the questions of differentiation depends mainly on the performance of nonauthoritative structures. This suggests that the problem of political development revolves around the relationship between the elements and other components of the political system. Pye's advice is to search for the characteristics of equality, capacity and differentiation in developing systems and determine the degree of their advancement-characteristics which were subsequently described by Coleman as development syndrome.

10.3. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT – PROBLEMS AND CRISES

(i) The problem of state-building

(ii) Problem of nation-building

(iii) Problem of participation

(iv) Problem of distribution

(v) Nature of the problem confronting the political system

(vi) Resource of the System

(vii) Effect of Foreign social system

(viii) Functioning pattern of the system

(ix) Response of the Political elites.

Crises are:

Identity crisis

Legitimacy crisis

Penetration crisis

The Participation Crisis

Integration Crisis

The Distribution Crisis

Political Development – Features.

Though the concept of political development cannot be defined precisely, its broad features can be outlined. As David M.Wood observes, a tendency among political scientists is found to treat the fact of Modernisation as independent

variable (cause) and Political Development as dependable variable (effect). Accordingly, the vast changes that occur in the realm of political development are regarded as the effects of the modernsation process of:

1. Industrialisation
2. Urbanisation
3. Spread of education and literacy
4. Increasing exposure to the mass media and
5. Expansion of secular culture

These independent factors are said to account for a variety of political development such as

1. Growth of modern bureaucracies
2. Development of a sense of nationhood
3. Advent of political parties.
4. Expansion of popular political participation
5. Increased capacity of the political system to mobilize resources for the accomplishment of its ends and
6. Decline in the missionary favour of the political movement.

The above features of political development clearly tell us that political development is a synthesis of its multi faced implications and dimensions.

10.4 THEORIES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political Development became the focus of attention for the political scientists ever since a large number of new states in Asia, Africa and Latin America rose up in the wake of the Second World War. The western political scientists evinced keen interest in the study of the nature and types of nationalism these countries were developing, the dilemmas they faced at the political, economic and cultural levels, the role the bureaucracy, or army, or religion played in their political development, why constitutional democracy had declined the role that political attitudes and individual behaviour played in the nation-building processes, and how economic backwardness affected the nature of politics. For

studying these pattern variables found in the new states, Almond's structureal functional model was adopted as the general framework.

At the same time a huge amount of statistical and quantitative data about the new countries became available. But these statistical data helped to measure levely of development-political, social, economic, cultural etc. in a particular country but not to explain why and how, under what forces and through what stages, the political development took place. Therefore the immediate need of the political scientists was to evolve a new theory of political development giving due consideration for the data brought out about the new states.

It was hoped that the new theory would enrich the entire theoretical approach which combined empirical political theory with political philosophy. A serious search was made by several political scientists in evolving a suitable theory of political development. Among those who contributed to the formation of theories and models are Lucian Pye, James S.Coleman, Howard Wriggins, Leonard Binder, Myron Weiner, David Apter, Huntington and Riggs are important.

10.4.1. LUCIAN PYE AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lucian pye was one of the important writers who made pioneering efforts towards a theory of political development. He developed the key elements of political development. According to him, the signs of political development could be traced at three different levels. (i) with respect to the population as a whole (ii) with respect to the level of the government and general systematic performance (iii) with respect to the organization of the polity.

Firstly, with political development there was greater involvement of the masses in political system, and this naturally led to greater sensitivity on the part of the people to the principles of equality and a wider acceptance by them of universalistic laws. Secondly, with political development there develops a greater capacity in the political system to manage public affairs, control controversy or cope with popular demands. An undeveloped political system which did not have the creative and participatory support of the masses, naturally, was not very effective in carrying them along with it. Finally, with regard to the organization of

the political system a developing political system has greater structural differentiation, functional specificity and integration of the participating institutions.

Equality, capacity, and differentiation are the three characteristics in the development syndrome by which the degree of advancement of any political system can be determined according to Lucian Pye.

Pye has also identified six crises in political development. The first and foremost crises is the identity crises. In most of the new states traditional forms of identify ranging from tribe or caste to ethnic and linguistic groups compete with the sense of larger national identify. The identify crisis also involves the resolution of the problem of traditional heritage and modern practices, the dilemma of parochial sentiments and cosmopolitan practices. As long as people feel pulled between two worlds and without roots in the society they cannot have the firm sense of identify necessary for building a stable modern nation state.

The second crisis in political development is the "legitimacy crisis". It involves the problem of achieving agreement about the legitimate nature of authority and the proper responsibilities of government.

The "Penetration crisis" comes next. It involves the problem of a government in reaching down into the society and effecting basic policies. To carry out significant policies a government must be able to reach down to the village level and touch the daily lives of the people. Thus, the penetration problem is that of building up the effectiveness of the formal institutions by government and establishing confidence and rapport between rulers and subjects.

The fourth crisis is the 'participation crisis", The participation crisis arises when there is uncertainly over the appropriate rate of expansion and when the influx of new participants creates serious strain on the existing institution. This problem involves the question as to whether freedom should be given to the emerging political groups or whether they should be curbed.

The next crisis in political development is the "integration crisis". This crisis covers the problems of relating popular policies to government performance. It deals with the extent to which the entire polity is organized as a system of interacting relationship first among the offices and agencies of government and then among the various groups and interests seeking to make demands upon the system, and finally in the relationship between officials and articulating citizens.

The final crisis, according to Pye, is the distributive crisis. It refers to the questions about how government powers are to be used to influence the distribution of goods, service and values throughout the society.

Pye is of the opinion that the nature of these crises determines the sequence of political development in a country.

Kenneth Organski is another writer who was also concerned with the problem of crises in political development. He suggested that developing society, in order to reach the goals of development would have to pass through four stages: (i) Political unification designed to achieve centralization of power in the hands of the state. (ii) Industrialization with a view to bring about economic development. (iii) National welfare where the result of political and economic power gained by the stage are available to the masses. (iv) Abundance, where people begin to achieve high standards of material influence.

Organiski lays emphasis more on economic development that on the building up of political institutions. He does not mind the nature of political setup provided there is significant economic development.

10.4.2. DAVID APTER AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

David Apter speaks of two different development sequences of traditional societies depending on (1) the type of government they had, it could be hierarchical, pyramidal, and (b) the value system they had inherited, it could be instrumental at the time of their entering into the process of modernization. Apter also thinks of the possibilities of developing societies setting up modernizing autocracies, military oligarchies or any other complex patterns of political

modernization. Following Apter there were made a lot of attempts to focus on modernization.

By the middle of the 1960's, it was realized that in the study of political development there had been too much dependence on sociology, specially on the structural-fuctional model. Politics was treated as a hand-maid of social force a mere instrument which was led by material from outside and which churned if out and returned it to the society..... whether in a good, bad or indifferent form depended on the quality of the political system. The will and capacity of political leaders to take the initiative in setting desirable goals for themselves deliberately evolving a political system which they could use as an instrument for the implementation of these social and economic goals was completely ignored.

The studies in political development carried out in the early 1960's treated political development as a dependent variable generated by something else, a world wide wave of modernization, nationalism or democracy and not as an independent or intervening variable which, in its own turn could shape things. The relevance of social, economic, administrative, political and cultural variables in shaping political development cannot be denied. But it was difficult to determine what relative weight a particular factor carried. In most cases the necessary data for testing them was not likely to be available. Therefore, in the late sixties, it was realized that while socio-economic and psychological forces did play a role and they could not be left out of political analysis, it was ultimately the will and capacity of the political leaders which determined how the issues, demands and needs of the society thrown up by the force of modernization were to shape the character and the direction of political development. Thus, the focus was clearly shifting to an analysis of the will and capacity of political actors and institutions.

10.4.3. HUNTINGTON AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Samuel Huntington played a very important role in liberating political development from socio-economic modernization. He challenged the idea that political development could be thought in terms of stages. If political development was merely to reflect the present state of western societies, and it was assumed that all societies were to move in the same direction, what could one think of the Greek,

Roman, Egyptian, Indian and other highly developed political sytems in ancient times? In the context of the time and circumstances in which they flourished they certainly fulfilled the relevant criteria of political development. One major concept which he contributed to the literature on political development was that of political decay. How institutions decay and dissolve as well as grow and mature was his main thesis. Huntington also questioned the linking up of political development with modernity and seriously objected to the increased capacity or more equality as the epitome of political development. Both will be likely to miss the point that only bt establishing a balance between the two principles, will it be possible to heighten the level of structural differentiation, and thereby to enable both the goals of equality and capacity to be realized to a greater degree". He said that once a polity gets into developmental trap, then there was bound to be either political break down or political decay. He did not agree with Huntington that institutionalization was adequate but felt too much institutionalization in itself could become a developmental trap.

10.4.4. ROLE OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Three types of political attitudes are important elements of political culture. They are:

1. Trust and Distrust
2. Pragmatism and Doctrinairism and
3. Attitudes towards change.

When people have trust in the political system, it will be possible to resolve conflicts and there will be development in the political system. If people are oriented towards the past, generally, they will not be interested in innovation and change. The result is less political development. If the people are oriented towards the present and future, it means people want change and innovation and if political system adjusts to the changing needs of the people, there will be political development.

Check your progress questions

1. Define the term political development

2. What are characteristics of political development

3. Explain various theomes of political development.

4. Discuss political culture political development.

5. Explain political socialization in political development.

10.4.5. ROLE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

One major approach to the study of political ldevelopment is through an analysis of the socialization process. Such an analysis involves several major questions.

1. Is the process of socialization homogenous, consistent and cumulative: *If the process of socialization is homogenous*, consistent and cumulative, then the political system is likely to remain stable and there is a possibility of political development.

2. Does the process of socialization breed a new set of values?
   If the process of socialization breeds a new set of values and the political system adjusts to the changing needs, there is a possibility of political development.

3. Is the process of socialization inconsistent, non-cumulative and discontinuous?

If the process of socialization is inconsistent, non-cumulative and discontinuous, the political system will remain unstable and there is no possibility of development.

4. Does the process of socialization promote or hinder integration, consensus and trust in the political system?

If the process of socialization promotes trust, integration and consensus, there will be political development and if not, there will be no political development.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNISATION

Modernisation is the current term for an old process – the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. It is a process based upon the rational utilization of the resources and is aimed at the establishment of a modern society. In other words,

modernization stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the change in social and physical environments.

Before World War II, different terms were used like Europeanisation, Anglicisation and Westernisation, to refer to the process of social change. But in the post-war era, it was felt that these terms could not explain the full implications of the process of social changes which spread swiftly and widely. Hence, a new term, Modernisation was evolved. This term is comprehensive enough to cover all the aspects involved in the process.

Lucian Pye defines Modernisation as "the process of profound social change in which tradition-bound villages or tribal-based societies are compelled to react to the pressures termed "the diffusion of a world culture". – a culture that seeks the break down of the traditional society and the rise, on its ashes, of a new society, based on advanced technology and the spirit of science, a rational view of life, a secular approach to social relation, a feeling of justice in public affairs and above all, the acceptance of the belief that the prime unit of polity should be the nation-state.

10.5. DIMENSIONS OF MODERNIZATION

The process of modernization is a comprehensive one and it covers much of the realms of politics, economics, sociology and even psychology. As Huntington says it is a "multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity". It is therefore, a multi-dimensional process.

1. At the economic level, it seeks economic growth, increase of gross national product and per capita income, economic planning, greater industrialization, accumulation of capital, increasing urbanization and reduction in the proportion of those engaged in agriculture and improvement in commerce.
2. At the intellectual level it involves scientific advance, a tremendous expansion of man's knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of this knowledge throughout the society through increased literacy and mass communication.

3. At the demographic level, it implies improvement in the standards of living and the progress towards the mobility of people and urbanization.
4. At the social level, it seeks to replace the individual's loyalty to family and other primary groups by loyalty to voluntarily organized secondary associations.
5. At the psychological level, it involves a change in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of the people.
6. At the historical level, the process seeks a change toward those types of social, economic and political systems that had developed in North Europe and North America and had spread to other European countries in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Modernisation is thus a comprehensive phenomenon which brings about radical changes in the field of economic development, change in the natural and content of the political systems and also change in the social and psychological spheres of life.

10.6. INDICATORS OF MODERNISATION

On the basis of the above discussion of the process of modernization, we can identify indicators of a modernized society. They are: 1. Growth of urbanization, 2. Increased per capita income, 3. Rise in gross national product 4. Increased literacy 5. High rate of political participation. 6. Secularisation i.e. national view of things. 7. Ascription to achievement, 8. Increase in the scope and range of political authority. 9. Differentiation of roles and structures in society. 10. High ratio of industrial labour, 11. Increased share of industry towards the budgetary income, 12. Increased consumption of electricity and 13. National integration.

10.7. MODERNISATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A study of political modernization shows its inter-connection with social mobilization "a process by which major elusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken down and the people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviours". Viewd in this context social systems of the world may be said to be of three kinds.

10.7.1.PRIMITIVE AND BACKWARD SOCIAL SYSTEM

This category includes highly backward social systems of the world where traditional responses, customs and rituals still carry the authority with them. Authority remains where it has been and no serious effort is made in the direction of political mobilization, socialization and recruitment. The right to participate in deciding in deciding both in the institutions of government and in the limited number of voluntary associations is largely confined to members of particular kinship and lineage groups, or to belonging to religious or caste communities. This hierarchical structure of authority results in either excessive submissiveness among the people at large, or adherence to extremist egalitarian idèals as a reaction against the established system.

Several countries of the third world like may be put in this category. Here primitive political norms and values are dominal. The high offices of the states are shared by the men of the same family or tribe or the people who enjoy a sort of charismatic hold over the destinies of their people. Urbanization may have a start, the rate of literacy may increase slowly, industrialization may be inching upward and mass media channels expanding, but many of the goals identified with political modernization like democracy, stability, structural differentiation, achievement patterns and national integration seem to be, as Huntington says, beyond realization as ever. What is striking about the political modernization of the countries belonging to this category is that in some of the cases, apart from a movement towards competitiveness and democracy, there have also occurred a shift in the reverse direction as evident in the form of setting up an authocratic military rule and one-party powerful rule. It is also found that national integration, instead of being within the possibility of attainment, was disrupted by ethnic conflicts and civil wars. Even Countries which have built up some kind of party systems or developed highly efficient bureaucratic systems in the colonial days, saw them declining gradually.

10.7.2. DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL SYSTEM

The countries coming in this category show a dichotomy of tradition and modernity that may be visualized most clearly in those parts of the world people

have lived under the colonial rule of some European power. A cross cultural phenomenon developed there as the masters imposed their political culture successfully over the social and political structure of the countries under the colonial domination. It is found that during the days of freedom struggles, these traditions, attitudes and influences tended to be submerged in the unit maintained by the common goal of national independence. Once independence was achieved the traditional pressures reasserted themselves usually becoming the basis for interest groups and political parties. The result is a complex mixture of the traditional and the modern consisting of a series of modern institutions creating a traditional base which is continually under the impact of increasing pressure of industrialsation and urbanizations.

Two important points should be noted in this connection. First, though the pace of political modernization becomes rapid, the factor of tradition is not thoroughly eroded by the factor of modernity. The case of Turkey is cited as the best example in this regard. We may see that Mustapha Kamal sought to modernize Turkey though the process of political socialization and his successors did the same by laying stress on the new symbols of nationhood, national flag, national anthem, national history, national monuments, national education, etc. Yet the Turkish people could not be thoroughly westernized.

Secondly, no break with the past, can be complete and even though far reaching and fundamental changes may be effected, an element of continuity remains. It is obvious, owing to this reason, that while the process of political modernization, socialization and recruitment is at work, the people cultivate blind faith in the social and political philosophy of their leaders with the result they are deified and the state ideology is given the rank of a religion. The case of a country like India may be cited as shining example in this regard where, people who followed Gandhi, took Gandhism as the political religion of the country. Such a turn in the process of politics of socialization creates a stumbling block. It then informs that a change in political process requires first a change in state religion.

10.7.3. WESTERN OR DEVELOPED SOCIAL SYSTEM

This category includes those countries where the people are very rich and highly educated. The country is well urbanized and industrialized and institutional arrangements are such the decision makers are either elected by the people or are legally answerable and act on behalf of those who are representatives of the people. In this sense, the predominant characteristic of the authoritative decisions in these state is that they are democratically based. It may he that there are some non-democratic institutionalized features that affect the decision making process in these social system e.g. the hierarchical nature of party organization with much centralization of power at the top. Nevertheless, the commitment to democratic form is great and the corresponding feelings of involvement in social and political spheres among the population make it unlikely that decisions will for very long go unchallenged.

Countries like Britain, America and France can be placed in this category, Instances are there to show that an American President like Richard Nixon, through the generalization of national administration, had to quit when he found the matters reaching the stage of his impeachment. A great prime Minister like Harold Wilson had to go to polls on the issue of Britain's joining the European Common Market. A strong President like charles de Gaulle had to grant independence to Algeria though he was inducted into that highest office of France for the cause of crushing the movement of the Algerians for independence. It is clear that these social systems are well committed to the observance of democratic norms and thus they are far more advanced than those belonging to the second category which, as shills say, "are a regime of civilian rule through representative institutions in the matrix of public liberties."

1.7.4. PATTERNS OR MODELS OF MODERNISATION

Huntington identities three models of modernization i) British model Britain and France come under this category. They are early modernizers and models for late modernizers. ii) American model: U.S. Canada, Australia and New Zealand belong to this category. They are the offshoots of the British model in the new world. iii) Continental European model older societies of continental Europe in which modernizing leadership occurred after the French Revolution.

1.8. HINDRANCES TO MODERNISATION

modernisation is not a smooth process. the presence or absence of certain factors hinders or inhibits the process. they are discussed below:

a. kinship

The traditional kinship structure is an effective obstacle to modernization. Kinship structure acts abarrier to industrial development since it encourages reliance of individual upon its security rather than upon his own devices.

b. Status of Women is Society:

Traditional societies are not willing to accord equal status to women in political, social, economic or educational field. This results in the denial of opportunity to roughly half of the population of the society to modernize themselves.

C. Population Explosion

In many underdeveloped countries the rate of increase in population exceeds the rate of increase in the supply of food. Despite an annual growth rate of some 3% or more per year in Gross National Product, many of these countries are either standing still or even falling constantly behind in the standard of welfare they provide for the population and in the general development of their economy.

d. Religion:

Religion has been identified both as an ohstacle to economic development and as a victim of the same process. Religion may be a major obstacle to modernization because, it is often the bulwark of tradition and a repository of beliefs and values incompatible with modern sciences, technology and the idea of progress.

e. Aging and the Aged

One of the outstanding virtues of the traditional society is to show respect to the aged. But the common tendency of modernization is to erode respect for the aged and to foster a youth culture.

f. Political Modernization:

Most of the scholars are of the view that political modernization is an indispensable condition for modernization of economy and society. Once citizens are politically modernized, they will begin to take interest in larger issues of the state, nations and its leaders.

g. Communication Media - mass and Non-mass

According to David Lerner, "no modern society functions efficiently without developed system of mass communication" Karl W.Deustch had also placed heavy emphasis on mass communication as one of the key elements of modernization process. A modern man would more often expose himself to the mass media, mass communication, newsapaper, radio, movies and television.

h. Social Stratification:

Traditional societies are generally defined as having closed class systems and a rigid caste structure. Mobility is at a minimum with men born into the positions in which they will die and sons succeeding their fathers generation after generation. Status and prestige are assigned mainly on the basis of long established hereditary family connection. Authority is feared and respected. A modern man would assign prestige not on grounds of traditional status and he would believe that mobility is possible for himself and his children. A modern man will feel more as part of society, as citizens on an equal footing with others in the national society.

> Check your progress questions
>
> 6. Write a note on dimensions of modernization.
>
> 7. What are the indicators of modernization.
>
> 8. Explain modernization and social change
>
> 9. Discuss pattern of modernization
>
> 10. What are the hindrances of modernization.

i. Work Commitment:

Man often came to work in industry only when pressed by economic circumstances and as soon as they had accumulated some cash, returned to their village. As a result, the investment in training of these men was lost. Similarly, in order to make the political system work, it is necessary that the entire social system is to mobilized without which the necessary political participation of the people of various levels is not possible.

10.9. SUMMARY

This units provides details to understand the meaning and charceteristics of political development. It also attempts to analyse various theones of political development. Also you are able to recognizes the role of political culture and political socialization in political development. This unit attempts to analyse the dimensions and indicators of modernization. It also provides details to understand pattern of modernization as well Hindrances to modernization.

10.10. Key words:

a) Legitimacy – make legal

b) Penetration – enter into

c) Integration – unify, make into one whole.

d) Pragmatism – relating to the affairs of a state

e) Doctrinarism – principles.

f) Primitive – of early times.

g) Stratification – classified

h) Commitment – undertaking

i) Diffusion – spread scatter

1.11. Answer for CYP Questions

For question No 1	Reference section No.10.1
For question No 2	Reference section No.10.2
For question No 3	Reference section No.10.4
For question No 4	Reference section No.10.4.4
For question No 5	Reference section No.10.4.5
For question No 6	Reference section No.10.5.
For question No 7	Reference section No.10.6.
For question No 8	Reference section No.10.7.
For question No 9	Reference section No.10.7.4.
For question No 10	Reference section No.10.8.

1.12. Books for further reading.

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1.13. Questions and Exercises.

1. Describe the concept of political development in the light of the development syndrome of Lucian Pye.
2. Explain the value of the concept of political development
3. Discuss the role of political culture and socialization in political development.